

For Reference

NOT TO BE TAKEN FROM THIS ROOM

For Reference

NOT TO BE TAKEN FROM THIS ROOM

Ex libris UNIVERSITATIS ALBERTAENSIS



UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA
LIBRARY

Regulations Regarding Theses and Dissertations

Typescript copies of theses and dissertations for Master's and Doctor's degrees deposited in the University of Alberta Library, as the official Copy of the Faculty of Graduate Studies, may be consulted in the Reference Reading Room only.

A second copy is on deposit in the Department under whose supervision the work was done. Some Departments are willing to loan their copy to libraries, through the inter-library loan service of the University of Alberta Library.

These theses and dissertations are to be used only with due regard to the rights of the author. Written permission of the author and of the Department must be obtained through the University of Alberta Library when extended passages are copied. When permission has been granted, acknowledgement must appear in the published work.

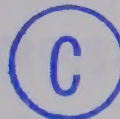
This thesis or dissertation has been used in accordance with the above regulations by the persons listed below. The borrowing library is obligated to secure the signature of each user.

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

THE URBAN FRONTIER: A WESTERN CASE STUDY,
CHEYENNE, WYOMING, 1867-1887

by

GILBERT ARTHUR STELTER



A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

DATE

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA
FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

The undersigned certify that they have read,
and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for
acceptance, a thesis entitled..THE..URBAN..FRONTIER:....
..A..WESTERN..CASE..STUDY..CHEYENNE..WYOMING..1867-1887..
.....
submitted by.....Gilbert Arthur Stelter.....
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

ABSTRACT

This detailed examination of the first twenty years of a small western city, Cheyenne, Wyoming, serves as a case study of the boom town in the Rocky Mountain and Great Plains region. Cheyenne sprang into existence in 1867 as the result of the construction of the first transcontinental railroad and soon became the capital and the commercial center of the new Territory. The city was one of the major entrepôts of the Black Hills gold rush during the middle 1870's and the headquarters for much of the Northwestern cattle industry during the 1880's.

This study was partly based on the sources necessary for local history--newspapers, government documents and census data, business records, travellers' accounts, and so on. In addition, published material on other communities has been used in order to place Cheyenne's experience in its regional and national perspective.

Cheyenne's history illustrates several themes which run through the complexity of western urban development. A basic theme is the colonial status of the western urban community. Like other small cities in the region, Cheyenne was economically, socially, and culturally dependent on the larger cities on the eastern edge of the Great Plains and ultimately on Chicago, Boston, and New York. A second theme is the role

of the small western city as an agent of westward expansion. Although holding a relatively low position within the metropolitan hierarchy, cities like Cheyenne aggressively promoted the further occupation and settlement of the West. A variety of collective measures, from the organizing of a semi-military expedition, to subsidizing railroad construction, were directed toward creating an agricultural hinterland in the northern portion of Wyoming Territory.

Another theme is the western city's role as an agent in the transportation of social and cultural institutions from the East to the frontier. The urban center provided the necessary environment for the rapid proliferation of the prevailing trends in eastern society. A fourth theme is the transformation of the chaotic boom town into a permanent community. A characteristic of these western cities was an accentuated rate of urban development and change. Municipal organization and a variety of social and cultural institutions were established in a relatively short time.

Towns and cities introduced a dynamic element into the Great Plains and Rocky Mountain regions and played a significant role in civilizing this region. This urban dimension, although often overlooked in western history, is a vital part of the story of the American West.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

In preparing this study I have received valuable assistance from several people. I am particularly indebted to Professor Wallace Farnham, now at the University of Illinois, who first suggested this project. His comments and criticisms stimulated a re-examination of many of my original theories. In the latter stages of preparation I was guided by Professor D. H. Dinwoodie of the University of Alberta. His encouragement and his suggestions were invaluable in drawing many loose ends together.

Several librarians proved helpful in tracking down elusive material: Dr. Gene Gressley of the University of Wyoming; Mrs. Katherine Halverson of the Wyoming State Archives and Historical Department, Cheyenne; Mrs. Alys Freeze of the Western History Department, Denver Public Library; and Mr. Archibald Hanna of the Western Americana Collection, Yale University.

To William Dubois I owe my contacts with innumerable people in Cheyenne. In his company, many pleasant hours were spent reminiscing with old-timers and searching for evidence of nineteenth-century Cheyenne.

My deepest appreciation goes to my wife, Sally, for her encouragement and her help as editor and critic of style.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ABSTRACT	iii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.	v
LIST OF TABLES	vii
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.	viii
INTRODUCTION	1
PART I. THE MAGIC CITY OF THE PLAINS, 1867-1868	
Chapter	
I. THE FOUNDING OF A RAILROAD BOOM TOWN.	11
II. THE ORGANIZATION OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT.	57
III. THE INTRODUCTION OF TRADITIONAL SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS.	101
PART II. THE WANING OF A BOOM TOWN, 1869-1874	
IV. THE BASIS OF ECONOMIC SURVIVAL.	144
V. THE BECKONING NORTH	184
VI. LIFE IN A DECLINING BOOM TOWN	220
PART III. THE NORTHERN EMPIRE, 1875-1880	
VII. THE WAY NORTH: THE BLACK HILLS GOLD RUSH.	266
VIII. GOLD IS THE CATALYST: LIFE IN A REVIVING BOOM TOWN	309
PART IV. THE CATTLEMEN'S ERA, 1880-1887	
IX. THE CATTLEMEN'S CITY.	356
X. THE GOLDEN AGE.	410
CONCLUSION: CHEYENNE AND THE URBAN FRONTIER.	459
BIBLIOGRAPHY	481

LIST OF TABLES

Table		Page
1	Population of Cheyenne, 1869-1890	5
2	Number of Cattle and their Assessed Value in Laramie County	362
3	Relationship Between Assessed Value of Total Property and of Cattle in Laramie County.	365
4	Distribution of Wyoming Stock Growers Association Executive in 1884	386
5	Population of Cheyenne, 1890-1940	408

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure		Page
1	Cheyenne and Vicinity, Summer, 1868.	18
2	Sixteenth Street from the West, Fall, 1867 . .	39
3	Sixteenth Street from the West, Late Fall, 1868	40
4	Cheyenne from the Southeast, 1870.	41
5	Political Divisions, January, 1868	68
6	Big Horn Expedition.	188
7	Major Routes to the Black Hills.	270
8	Cheyenne from the Southeast, 1882.	409

INTRODUCTION

Visitors to the American West after the Civil War were constantly amazed by the rapid growth and the dynamic activity of the small towns and cities of the region. And for good reason. Urban activity was one of the characteristic features of the opening and consequent development of the West. To a great many immigrants to the Great Plains and Rocky Mountain region, city building was of more interest than the founding of another agricultural region.¹ A detailed examination of the founding and development of one of these small communities, Cheyenne, Wyoming, serves as a

¹ Historians are showing increasing interest in the significance of the small cities of this region. A recent example is Duane Smith, Rocky Mountain Mining Camps, The Urban Frontier (Bloomington, 1967). Several communities are dealt with as parts of larger studies. Among the best are those of Fort Benton, Montana, in Paul Sharp, Whoop-Up Country, The Canadian-American West, 1865-1885 (Minneapolis, 1955); Salt Lake City in Leonard J. Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830-1900 (Cambridge, Mass., 1958); Denver and Wichita in Constance Green, American Cities in the Growth of the Nation (New York, [1957] 1965). Some recent general works on the West are particularly conscious of the role of cities. For example: Rodman Paul, Mining Frontiers of the Far West, 1848-1880 (New York, 1963), and Robert G. Athearn, High Country Empire: The High Plains and Rockies (Lincoln, [1960] 1964). An example of the popular but often useful literature on this subject is Glenn Chesney Quiett, They Built the West: An Epic of Rails and Cities (New York, 1934). For comments on the state of urban history in this region see: Charles N. Glaab, "The Historian and the American City: A Bibliographic Survey," The Study of Urbanization, ed. Philip M. Hauser and Leo F. Schnore (New York, 1965), pp. 65-66.

case study of this western urban experience. With some qualifications, this little community might be considered typical of all western boom towns. Certainly it had enough experience with a variety of western booms. During the first twenty years of its existence it was directly involved in the building of the first transcontinental railroad, the Black Hills gold rush, and the cattle industry. In addition to having some significance as a type of western city, Cheyenne is worthy of a study in its own right. Founded by the Union Pacific Railroad Company in 1867, the city soon became the capital and dominant center of Wyoming Territory.

A basic assumption of this study is that there is some value in dealing with a community in the entirety of its behaviour. Cheyenne was small enough to make a comprehensive approach possible. As James Malin has pointed out, "People do not live their lives in separate compartments--economic, social, cultural, or religious."² An attempt is made here to examine all of these aspects of life in each of four periods in the city's early history in order to define the relationship among them as much as possible. This approach was taken rather than writing topical chapters on the place of the railroad, the cattle industry, city government, religion, and so on. Another assumption of this study is that there is some usefulness in describing life in

²James C. Malin, "Local Historical Studies and Population Problems," in The Cultural Approach to History, ed. Caroline F. Ware (New York, 1940), p. 300.

Cheyenne in a detailed manner. Much of the literature on the West emphasizes rural life; a necessary corrective is a full examination of the urban side of the western experience. An obvious omission in this study of Cheyenne is an analysis of the city's role in territorial politics. Unfortunately, the political scene in territorial Wyoming has not yet been adequately studied and the necessary research would have required a full, separate study.³

The approach used here, that of the individual urban biography, is one of the established methods of dealing with urban history. Oscar Handlin, for example, has called for "fewer studies of the city in history than the history of cities. However useful a general theory of the city may be, only the detailed tracing of an immense range of variables, in context, will illuminate the dynamics of [urban development]." ⁴ The word "context," of course, is essential. If local antiquarianism is to be avoided, the community must be placed in its regional and national perspective. A comparison of Cheyenne's experience with that of other little western towns as well as with cities elsewhere in the country is essential to an understanding of this particular western community. In this way, similarities and differences in the

³ This is being done at the present time by Professor Lewis Gould of the University of Texas.

⁴ Oscar Handlin, "The Modern City as a Field of Historical Study," in The Historian and the City, ed. Oscar Handlin and John Burchard (Cambridge, Mass., 1963), p. 26.

types of urban communities can be shown.⁵ An obvious conclusion, based on much of the literature on individual communities as well as some general interpretative essays, is that while every community is distinctive, the difference between it and other communities is that of degree, not of kind.⁶ The significance of a local study, therefore, ought to transcend the importance of any particular community.⁷

Some of the commonplace terms employed in urban history are the subjects of controversy and perhaps require some definition. A city obviously is an urban community as distinct from a rural community. It is a place where urbanism or urban life exists. Urbanization, on the other hand, is a social process of population concentration resulting in cities.⁸ A traditional method of determining whether a community is a city is by size. The United States Census Bureau had two criteria: a city was an incorporated place which had a population of 8,000 but it also defined

⁵Constance Green, "The Value of Local History," in Ware, The Cultural Approach to History, pp. 278-79.

⁶Eric E. Lampard, "Urbanization and Social Change; on Broadening the Scope and Relevance of Urban History," in Handlin and Burchard, The Historian and the City, pp. 225-47.

⁷Some particularly relevant remarks in this regard are made by Samuel P. Hays, "Quantification in History: The Implications and Challenges for Graduate Training," AHA Newsletter, IV (June, 1966), 9.

⁸These terms are well defined in: Hope Tisdale, "The Process of Urbanization," Social Forces, XX (March, 1942), 311-16; and in Eric E. Lampard, "American Historians and the Study of Urbanization," American Historical Review, LXVII (October, 1961), 49-61.

as urban any incorporated place that had a population of 2,500. The point at which a community becomes a city can not be determined by size alone, especially in the sparsely populated West. The following census figures show the relatively small size of Cheyenne during the period examined in this study.

TABLE 1*
POPULATION OF CHEYENNE, 1869-1890

1869	2,305
1870	1,450
1880	3,456
1890	11,690

*Figures for 1869 are from a census taken by the U.S. Marshal immediately after the organization of Wyoming Territory. Marie H. Erwin, Wyoming Historical Blue Book, A Legal and Political History of Wyoming, 1868-1943 (Denver, 1946), pp. 162-163.

While chartered as a city from its earliest months, Cheyenne was not a city by the Census Bureau's criterion until the late 1880's. It was not even an urban place according to the census of 1870, yet it was the capital and commercial center of Wyoming Territory.

Because size as the only criterion may be misleading, this writer believes that certain other attributes must be present if a community is to be regarded as a city. Among the most important are that it have: economically, a metropolitan system in that the community is both an exporting and importing center; administratively, a local government which takes responsibility in a variety of areas such as

law enforcement, street maintenance, water supply, fire protection, public health; culturally, a matrix for well developed social institutions such as newspapers, theaters, schools, and churches.⁹

The point at which urbanism or urban living can be said to exist is also a matter for debate. According to the classic sociological definition by Louis Wirth, urbanism is most pronounced in large, densely populated, heterogeneous cities, but even rural life bears the imprint of urbanism, for the city affects all around it.¹⁰ Presumably, urbanism existed to a lesser degree in a relatively small, thinly populated, homogeneous community like Cheyenne. Certainly residents of this little city managed to escape most of the psychological results of urbanism described by Wirth. While defining terms such as "city" and "urbanism," however, it is well to remember Richard Wohl's comment that the idea of the city as a distinct entity "must be recognized for the simplification that it is. A city is a fine mesh which sifts its inhabitants

⁹I have found the following works to be most useful in seeking a definition of the city: Lewis Mumford, The City in History, its Origins, its Transformations, and its Prospects (New York, 1961), pp. iii-xi; Henri Pirenne, Medieval Cities (Garden City, N.Y., [1926] 1956), pp. 55-74; William Bennett Munroe, The Government of American Cities (New York, 1926), pp. 1-16; Norman Harper, "The Rural and Urban Frontiers," Historical Studies, Australia and New Zealand, XL (May, 1963), 417-19.

¹⁰Louis Wirth, "Urbanism as a Way of Life," American Journal of Sociology, XLIV (July, 1938), 4-16.

and sorts them out into smaller groupings. . . .It is only from a very abstract point of view that a city appears homogeneous or circumscribed."¹¹

Several basic themes are evident in the early history of Cheyenne and other small western cities. Of the many possibilities, four will be examined in this study. The first and most basic of these is the colonial nature of the West. Economically, socially, and culturally Cheyenne was dependent on the larger cities on the eastern edge of the Great Plains such as Omaha, and ultimately on Chicago, Boston, and New York.

A second theme is the role of the small western city as an agent of westward expansion. In its own small way, a city like Cheyenne became a "spearhead of the frontier,"¹² aggressively promoting the further occupation and settlement of the West. The dynamic element was the commercial group within the city, stimulated to action by the rivalry of other aspiring western centers and also by the uncongenial environment which hindered the building-up of a large agricultural population in the immediate vicinity.

A third theme is the role of the city as an agent in

¹¹ Richard R. Wohl, "Urbanism, Urbanity, and the Historian," University of Kansas City Review, XXII (Autumn, 1955), 55-56.

¹² This phrase is from Richard Wade, The Urban Frontier Pioneer Life in Early Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Lexington, Louisville, and St. Louis (Chicago, [1959] 1964), p. 1.

the transportation of social and cultural institutions from the established parts of the country to the frontier. The little western urban center provided the necessary environment for the rapid proliferation of the prevailing trends in eastern society. One of the characteristic features of western urban life was a desire to imitate such eastern institutions as municipal government, churches, schools, and forms of entertainment. These institutions were weakened by the frontier environment, defined in this study as social disorganization and social isolation, but they were not basically modified by their contact with the frontier.

Some qualification must be made of the term "eastern" as used in this study. Like any western community, Cheyenne was a conglomeration of a variety of backgrounds and traditions, although the largest proportion of the population was native American. Eastern usually meant two Middle Atlantic states, New York and Pennsylvania, and three North Central states, Ohio, Illinois, and Missouri. To the fullest extent that the limitations of distance and social disorganization allowed, Cheyenne's residents attempted to make their society mirror those older, more established societies.

A fourth theme is the transformation of the chaotic boom town into a permanent community. Led by the commercial and professional element and given consciousness by the local press, Cheyenne quickly achieved stability and prosperity. Leadership for community action in the early years usually

came from the commercial group, in later years from several cattlemen. As the community developed, social contrasts appeared; as the community matured, social contrasts became more obvious.

An important aspect of the fourth theme is the accentuated rate of urban development and change which took place in these western boom towns. Cheyenne was an "instant" city in the sense that it sprang up almost overnight. Local government and a variety of social institutions were quickly established. After the rapid founding, boom and depression followed each other in swift succession.

The rise of the western city was a vital part of western American history. This study hopefully contributes to an understanding of the significance of this urban frontier.

PART I

THE MAGIC CITY OF THE PLAINS, 1867-1868

CHAPTER I

THE FOUNDING OF A RAILROAD BOOM TOWN

"Cheyenne is a western realization of an eastern tale of enchantment," wrote a Chicago newspaperman late in 1867. "It is a city that sprang into existence in a night, in obedience to the waving of a magician's wand over a patch of wild buffalo grass. The magician was American enterprise; this wand resembled a bar of railroad iron a thousand miles long."¹ This rhetorical statement captured several basic characteristics of the founding of Cheyenne. The symbol of the expansion of the industrialized East into the Great Plains and Rocky Mountain region after the Civil War was the Union Pacific Railroad Company. Cheyenne's founding illustrates the essentially colonial nature of the emerging western society of which it became a part. As was the case with many aspects of western life, important decisions regarding the location and eventual size of this community were made by officials of an eastern corporation. The rate at which this instant community sprang into existence astounded most observers and quickly became the basis for the local booster's slogan--"The Magic City of the Plains." Cheyenne's experience in this respect resembled that of other western

¹Chicago Times, November 15, 1867.

boom towns connected with railroads and mining or, in the case of the Oklahoma towns, a land rush. The location of this new city on a previously uninhabited spot brought into play the forces of the frontier which in this case might be defined socially as the unformed or unordered society, and environmentally as distance from established society. Social disorganization, however, was a characteristic of the new community for only a short time. Rivalry with other centers, particularly Denver and Laramie, provided a rallying point and a certain amount of community consciousness for the disparate population within months of the city's first appearance.

The founding of Cheyenne was almost an incidental result of the building of the first transcontinental railroad by the Union Pacific. The company's venture first took shape during the Civil War years when an aggressive group of lobbyists were able to gain passage of the Pacific Railroad Acts of 1862 and 1864.² According to these acts, two companies would build the first transcontinental railroad from the Missouri River to Sacramento, California, through the central part of the plains and mountains. The Central Pacific would build the western portion, the Union Pacific the eastern. Each company was to receive twenty alternate sections of public land for each mile of track laid. The acts also provided for a subsidy (not an outright grant but a second

²Wallace Farnham, "The Pacific Railroad Act of 1862," Nebraska History, XLIII (September, 1962), 159-67.

mortgage loan) of \$16,000 per mile of track constructed on the plains, \$32,000 per mile through the rough plateau and foothills sections of the Rockies and Sierras, and \$48,000 for each mile through the mountains.

The Union Pacific began construction of its portion of the road during the summer of 1865 from Omaha, Nebraska.³ As railroad construction pushed westward across the Nebraska plains, one of the oldest of American dreams, the hope of finding a "passage to India," was becoming a reality. This dream, reactivated by the Lewis and Clark expedition soon after the Louisiana Purchase of 1803, had been kept alive for decades by advocates of a Pacific railroad.⁴ It is hardly surprising, therefore, that many of the Union Pacific's officials considered the "through traffic," which trade with the Orient and the Pacific Coast would bring, as the justification for the construction of the railroad. To them, the plains and mountains region of the West was simply a vast, useless space to be crossed as quickly as possible. The region had long been known as the "Great American Desert," lacking the prerequisites for American settlement--water and wood. To a great extent this reputation was deserved, for the area was exceptionally dry from 1825 to 1865. A

³Technically from Council Bluffs, Iowa, the eastern terminal designated by President Abraham Lincoln according to the provisions of the Railroad Acts.

⁴Henry Nash Smith, Virgin Land, The American West as Symbol and Myth (New York, [1950] 1957), pp. 20-37.

relatively wet period after 1865 gave rise to false hopes that the desert was receding.⁵

The region the railroad was entering was by no means unoccupied. In addition to the thousands of Indians who effectively controlled most of the region, some American settlements were started long before the Civil War and continued their development without any real interruption during the nation's great internal conflict. These tiny communities were often founded far ahead of any agricultural settlement and, thus, were the "spearheads of the frontier" in much the same way that St. Louis, Cincinnati, and other Ohio Valley towns opened an earlier frontier.⁶ The earliest centers originated as trading posts, occupying the territory Jefferson bought from Napoleon. With the decline of the fur trade, these centers often were taken over by the army and became military posts, protecting and provisioning the Oregon- and California-bound travellers in the 1840's and 1850's. Also, by the late 1840's, the Mormons had established their Wilderness Zion in Utah and Salt Lake City had become the most

⁵C. Warren Thornthwaite, "The Great Plains," in Migration and Economic Opportunity, The Report of the Study of Population Redistribution, ed. Carter Goodrich, et al. (Philadelphia, 1936), pp. 217-27. C. Warren Thornthwaite, "Climate and Settlement in the Great Plains," Yearbook of the Department of Agriculture (Washington, 1941), pp. 177-80.

⁶Richard Wade, The Urban Frontier, Pioneer Life in Early Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Lexington, Louisville, and St. Louis (Chicago, [1959] 1964). Robert G. Athearn, High Country Empire, The High Plains and Rockies (Lincoln, [1960] 1964), pp. 77-79.

important city between the Missouri River and California. But the greatest impetus to pre-railroad settlement of this region was the discovery of gold in Nevada, Colorado, and Montana. Although the spectacular success of the mining camps was short-lived, the supply points such as Denver and Fort Benton became the commercial centers of their respective regions. These communities had very small populations when compared with eastern cities, but they had some essential urban features, namely a middle class population and communal organization.⁷

Yet this early urban frontier could not make up by energy what it lacked in basic tools. Effective exploitation of the region awaited the arrival of the railroads. The question which perplexed these aspiring centers was: which section of the frontier would be the recipient of the necessary transportation connections?

The Union Pacific's route across the plains followed the Platte River to Julesburg, about 350 miles west of Omaha, but surveyors had difficulty finding a suitable crossing of the mountains. Of the many possible routes, all had serious shortcomings. The traditional road west, the Oregon Trail, followed the North Platte past Fort Laramie and crossed the

⁷ An excellent discussion of urban communities in terms of function rather than size is Norman Harper, "The Rural and Urban Frontiers," Historical Studies, Australia and New Zealand, X (May, 1963), 417-19. See also Henri Pirenne, Medieval Cities (Garden City, N.Y., [1925] 1960), p. 39.

mountains through South Pass. This route, however, was considered to be too much of a detour for a railroad whose main object was to forge a connecting link with the West Coast. The second route, following the South Platte valley to Denver, presented grave engineering problems in the mountains west of Denver. The company hoped to tap the trade of this bustling community of four to five thousand and even considered a modification of the route which passed only fifty miles north of the city. This would bypass the worst features of the mountain grades west of the city. But according to the chief consulting engineer, the company ultimately found it impossible to build a line near Denver "without discriminating too much against the through business of the road."⁸ Continued surveys in Colorado were carried on only because of the constant pressure exerted on the company and Washington by Denver and the Colorado territorial government.⁹

The approximate route eventually chosen was the shortest and involved a relatively gradual approach to the mountains. This line followed Lodge Pole Creek west from Julesburg and crossed the Laramie Range (then commonly referred to as the Black Hills) of the Rockies via the Cheyenne

⁸Silas Seymour, Incidents of a Trip Through the Great Platte Valley to the Rocky Mountains and Laramie Plains in the Fall of 1866 (New York, 1867), p. 128.

⁹For more discussion of the Colorado surveys see S.D. Mock, "Colorado and the Surveys for a Pacific Railroad," Colorado Magazine, XVII (March, 1940), 54-63.

Pass.¹⁰

The company's chief engineer, Grenville M. Dodge, who was responsible for determining the location of the railroad's route, knew the mountain region well and felt that an excellent pass might exist slightly south of the Lodge Pole Creek-Cheyenne Pass line. In the spring of 1866 he sent district engineer James Evans to examine the area further. That fall Evans discovered the pass that Dodge hoped existed and laid out the line the railroad eventually used.¹¹

The discovery of this route and its eventual choice were to have a great influence on the future pattern of

¹⁰ Grenville M. Dodge to Thomas C. Durant, August 23, 1866, Grenville M. Dodge Papers (Iowa State Department of History and Archives, Des Moines), box 5.

¹¹ In later years Dodge took personal credit for finding this desirable pass. In his memoirs, written some twenty years after the events, he tells of the discovery in dramatic terms. He and his guide, while being chased by Indians, had come upon the ridge which led directly down to the plains. They then "followed this ridge out until I discovered it led down to the plains without a break. I then said to my guide that if we saved our scalps I believed we had found the crossing of the Black Hills." How We Built the Union Pacific and other Railway Papers and Addresses (Washington, 1910), p. 17. But his diary and his letter to his wife that night make no reference to Indians or to a momentous discovery. Dodge Diary, September 22, 1865, Dodge Papers, box 321. In 1867 he reported that the new route was "very creditable to the perseverance, ability and professional skill of Mr. Evans." Union Pacific Railroad Company, Report of the Chief Engineer with Accompanying Reports of Division Engineers for 1866 (Washington, 1868), pp. 4-6. He took the credit himself only years later when the full importance of the discovery was obvious to everyone. For a full discussion of this event and of the unreliability of Dodge's memoirs as history, see Wallace Farnham, "Grenville Dodge and the Union Pacific: A Study of Historical Legends," Journal of American History, LI (March, 1965), 632-50.

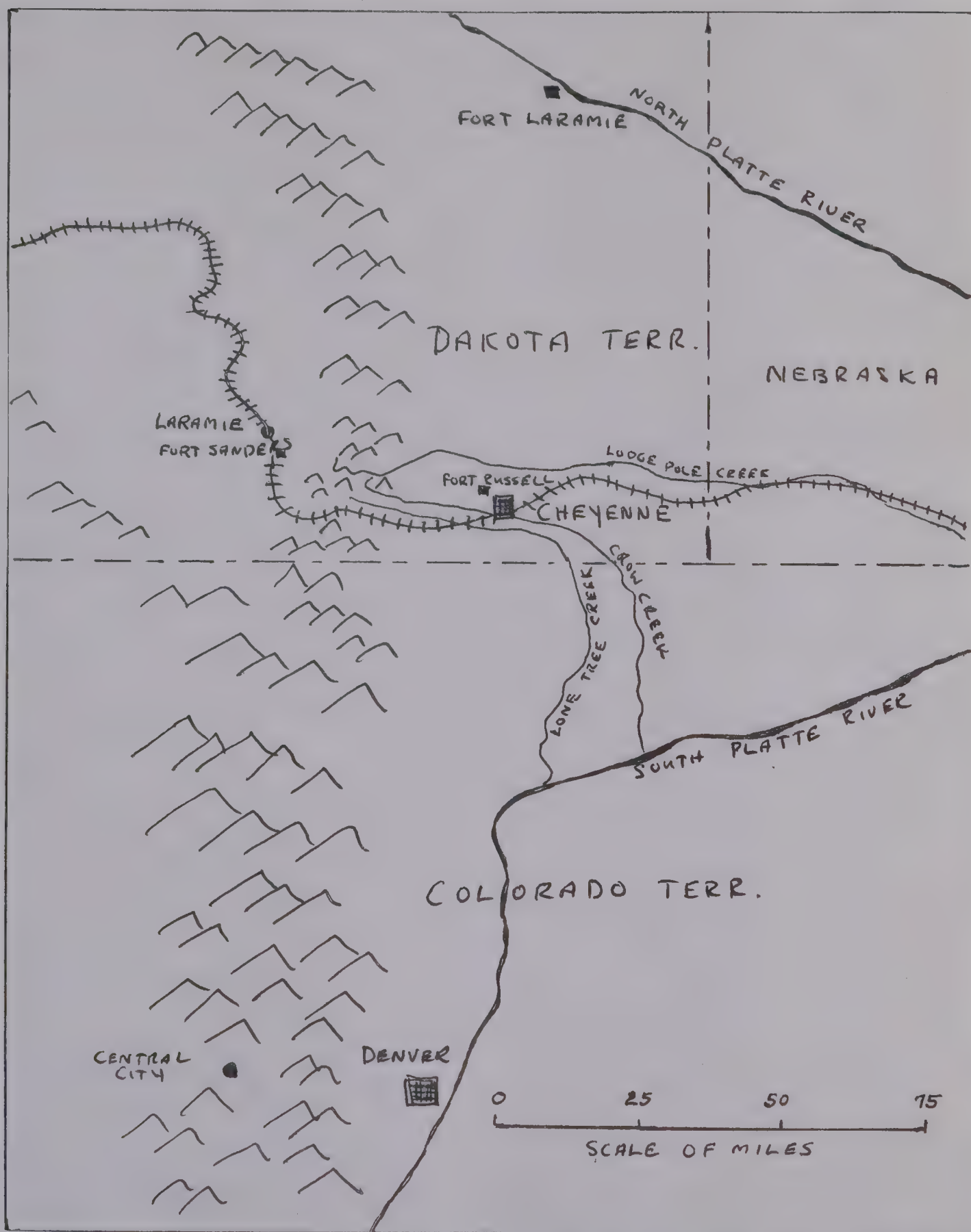


Fig. 1.--Cheyenne and Vicinity, Summer, 1868.

settlement and growth of the entire region. Had the choice been the Oregon Trail, Fort Laramie probably would have become the commercial center of the northern plains. Had the railroad built its line through or closer to Denver, it is unlikely that a new city, Cheyenne, would have arisen to compete with Denver for the hegemony of the central mountain and plains region.

In addition to choosing the route of the railroad Dodge was also directly responsible for the location of the future city. He was in charge of laying out townsites along the path of construction and of selling lots in these proposed towns, and was thus interested in finding the most advantageous sites for cities. He probably chose the approximate location of Cheyenne early in 1867, soon after the final decision on the route of the railroad. The future city would be located about 500 miles west of Omaha, at a point where the line of the railroad crossed Crow Creek. This spot, at an altitude slightly over 6,000 feet, was roughly where the railroad would begin its ascent of the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains. Dodge assigned a great deal of significance to the fact that this city would be the division point between the company's two sections of the road--the plains division from the Missouri River to the mountains, and the mountain division to Salt Lake. To him, the central location seemed particularly well-suited for a

future metropolis of the region.¹² To a certain extent the site resembled that of Denver in that it was near but not in the mountains, although the mountains in this case were not an impenetrable barrier but amounted only to a gradual, almost imperceptible rise to the west.

The major flaw in the location, as future residents were to discover, was the aridity of the environment. Although the site was on one of the few streams in the area, the surrounding countryside hardly promised to support a substantial agricultural population. The annual rainfall in the vicinity would average about fourteen inches and occasionally drop as low as nine inches.

The city was formally founded later in 1867 during one of Dodge's western trips. He had left his headquarters at Omaha to take personal charge of surveying parties making final revisions of the line into the mountains, as the engineer in charge had been killed by Indians. His party was accompanied by Col. Silas Seymour, the company's chief consulting engineer, several other engineers, and some company directors and friends. This group rode the Union Pacific to the end of track at Julesburg and then marched overland, reaching the crossing of Crow Creek on the evening of July 3. They found the place a beehive of activity. Camped on the site was Maj.-Gen. C. C. Augur, Commander of the Depart-

¹²Dodge to Mrs. Dodge, July 15, 1867, Dodge Records, VI, Dodge Papers. Union Pacific, Report of the Chief Engineer . . . 1866, p. 14.

ment of the Platte, returning from a western tour of inspection. Augur was accompanied by two companies of cavalry and two companies of Pawnee scouts. As Dodge's party planned to remain in camp at Crow Creek Crossing for a week or ten days while he made some necessary adjustments to the line west, they were able to accept Augur's invitation to celebrate the Fourth of July the following day.¹³

It turned out to be a memorable occasion. The barren hills echoed with lengthy speeches and toasts. Of special significance was the christening of the city they expected would rise on this spot in several weeks. A certain Col. A. B. Coleman of New York, in responding to a toast to "The Embryo City of Cheyenne," explained that he was a "member of the Committee to decide upon the name of this city," and that the committee had decided to call it "by its present cognomen in hopes of conciliating the interesting Savages."¹⁴ He had no intention, however, of waiting around to see if the Indians considered it an honor. General Augur, in returning thanks for a toast to the army, proposed that the group meet at the site again in future years, "when Cheyenne would be

¹³ U.S., Congress, House, Report of the Chief Engineer to the President of the Union Pacific Railroad Company for 1867, 40th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1868, Exec. Doc. 331, pp. 2-3. Silas Seymour, A Reminiscence of the Union Pacific Railroad, Containing Some Accounts of the Discovery of the Eastern Base of the Rocky Mountains; and of the Great Indian Battle of July 11, 1867 (Quebec, 1873), pp. 12-16.

¹⁴ Seymour, A Reminiscence . . ., p. 21.

a City not only in name but in reality."¹⁵ Countless other toasts were proposed--even to the health of the mule train--and "drunk in the wildest enthusiasm," as the festivities continued on through most of the day. The significance of the revelry was later recalled by Colonel Seymour:

It was upon this memorable occasion that the name "Cheyenne" was given to the future city that it was foreseen must spring up at the point upon which we were encamped, although, at the time, there was not a house, nor a piece of lumber with which to construct one, to be found within fifty miles of the locality. ¹⁶

Although Dodge later took credit for naming the city. he conscientiously supervised a survey crew that day and missed the merrymaking. That night he wrote his wife:

Their party with mine had a Fourth of July Celebration while I was out on line. Speeches, made toasts, drank &c. I learn it was quite a time. They named the town at the east base of the mountains Cheyenne.¹⁷

The location of a site for an army post, to be called Fort David A. Russell, was chosen the following day. Augur had received orders to locate a post near the line of the Union Pacific to protect the construction crews from

¹⁵ Seymour, A Reminiscence . . ., p. 20.

¹⁶ Seymour, A Reminiscence . . ., p. 24.

¹⁷ Dodge to Mrs. Dodge, July 4, 1867, Dodge Records, VI. The same account is also found in Dodge's diary for that day (Dodge Papers, box 321). In his memoirs, Dodge claimed that he named the city (How We Built the Union Pacific . . ., p. 19), but it is unlikely that he had anything to do with the name. Before July 4 his letters to his wife and his diary simply refer to "Crow Creek Crossing," an indication that he did not know what the name of the site would be.

Indian depredations. He planned to locate the post near wood and water, almost sixteen miles west of Cheyenne, but Dodge was able to persuade him to accept a location about three miles from Cheyenne, evidently by promising that the railroad company would soon build a branch line to the post.¹⁸

In persuading the army to locate its post near the company's city, Dodge was not only providing for the city's protection, but for the city's economy as well. Future merchants and saloon keepers would have a large, readymade group of customers near at hand; in addition, a quartermaster's depot which would be built in conjunction with the post would provide employment for hundreds of freighters and their teams. Dodge's success with the army in this matter as well as in others illustrates the extent to which the company was able to virtually "borrow" the army for its own use.¹⁹ The post went into actual operation on July 21 when Brig.-Gen. J. D. Stevenson, appointed commander of the embryo post, arrived with three companies under orders to build the post at the site selected by Augur and Dodge. Construction began by mid-August. Construction of the quartermaster's depot, half-way between the post and Cheyenne, was also begun in August, under the supervision of Col. E. B.

¹⁸Dodge Diary, July 5, 1867, Dodge Papers, box 321. Dodge to Sidney Dillon, July 15, 1867, Dodge Collection, box 5, Dodge Papers.

¹⁹Wallace Farnham, "'The Weakened Spring of Government': A Study in Nineteenth-Century American History," American Historical Review, LXVIII (April, 1963), 669-70.

Carling.²⁰

When Cheyenne was formally founded in early July of 1867, it had no population and the Union Pacific's rails would not reach it for another four months. But a city was on the way. The migrating construction camp, the legendary "Hell on Wheels," had already become the basis of several mushrooming terminal towns as it periodically set up temporary quarters along the path of construction. North Platte was the scene of the camp during the winter of 1866-1867, followed by Julesburg in the spring. Cheyenne became the next terminus and would be followed by Laramie City, Benton, Rawlins, and others in rapid succession before the completion of construction in 1869. Hastily thrown together, usually with materials from the previous terminus, these towns each had a moment of extraordinary activity before the camp moved further west to remain near track construction. Benton, for example, was described as being,

almost as transitory . . . as the elements of a soap bubble. The ever restless spirit that animates western communities is in full vigor here, and each sojourner in the place seems to be fearful that somebody will get ahead of him in the race to the everchanging "next new town."²¹

These terminal towns bore a remarkable resemblance to each other. Like the mining camps from California to the

²⁰"Medical History of Fort Russell," I, 1867-1871 (Wyoming State Archives and Historical Department, Cheyenne), pp. 2-3. Rocky Mountain News (Denver), July 26, 1867.

²¹Cheyenne Daily Leader, August 14, 1868, hereafter in this chapter and all succeeding chapters cited as Leader.

Black Hills, the similarity was due to the fact that they were made up of many of the same people who simply moved from one point to the next. The advance guard of this migration, to Cheyenne as well as to each of the other new points, were those who speculated in town lots and those various kinds of businessmen who hoped to get in on the "ground floor" of a city which appeared to be a "sure thing." These were not necessarily mutually exclusive groups. Only later, as construction neared the new terminus, would the major portion of the previous town arrive, bringing with it the camp followers; the gamblers, prostitutes, and saloon-keepers, as well as the freighters and merchants provisioning the construction crews.

Cheyenne, however, provided a new ingredient of significant proportions to the usual recipe for these terminal towns. It served as a meeting place for this invasion by the East and those frontiersmen who were continuing the ceaseless internal migration from boom to boom within the frontier region. While all terminal points may be said to have undergone the same experience in varying degrees, Cheyenne in particular became the recipient of migrants from the region's major urban center, Denver. At a time when Cheyenne's future seemed assured, Denver was being threatened with virtual extinction by a decline in local mining and by having been bypassed by the transcontinental

railroad.²² This combination of the earliest arrivals from Julesburg and Denver, in fact, brought about communal organization before the bulk of Julesburg's population arrived, in the hope of preventing the lawless chaos which characterized Julesburg.

The speculative fever which soon raged unabated through Cheyenne was a familiar virus, having infected virtually every stage of American economic development. It had been an essential part of the buoyancy and optimism of city development on earlier frontiers and was to characterize most of western economic development.²³ Rumors circulated the frontier during the summer of 1867 about this new railroad town which was sure to become "one of the most important cities . . . between Omaha and California."²⁴ Among the first to take action were two frontiersmen, James R. Whitehead and his partner, William L. Kuykendall, former Kansans who had located their families in Denver and were now engaged in supplying wood, corn, and beef to the military posts of the region. In anticipation of the building boom they hoped would take place in the new town, they began to cut house logs in the mountains west of Crow Creek. Whitehead,

²²Rodman Paul, Mining Frontiers of the Far West, 1848-1880 (New York, 1963), pp. 120-21.

²³Wade, The Urban Frontier . . ., pp. 30-34. Paul Sharp, Whoop-Up Country, The Canadian-American West, 1865-1885 (Minneapolis, 1955), p. 209.

²⁴Leader, July 9, 1868.

hauling a load of these logs, arrived at the townsite on July 9 and appears to have been the first settler.²⁵ He was closely followed that same day by eight more arrivals.²⁶ Two days later, Dodge wrote that people were "daily crowding to this new town that is to be," even though he had "not yet laid it off."²⁷ By July 15, Dodge began to supervise the "laying out" of the townsite and appointed a pair of merchants, J. A. Glenn and R. E. Talpey, to act as the Union Pacific's agents to sell town lots.²⁸

Confidence in the potential importance of Cheyenne was stimulated by the Union Pacific's promises to make the town one of the important railroad centers of the West. Dodge, as the company's trustee for the depot towns, personally believed that the company would succeed in building a town that would rival Denver.²⁹ He felt that the company

²⁵J. R. Whitehead to the Editor, Cheyenne State Leader, July 27, 1917. William L. Kuykendall, Frontier Days, A True Narrative of Striking Events on the Western Frontier (Cheyenne, 1917), pp. 1-114. Leader, July 9, 1868. Emanuel H. Saltiel and George Barnett, History and Business Directory of Cheyenne and Guide to the Mining Regions of the Rocky Mountains (Cheyenne, 1868), p. 11.

²⁶Two of them were bachelors (Thomas McLeland and Robert Beers), but the group also included three men with their wives (James Masterson, John Bachtold, and a certain Hammond). Leader, July 9, 1868. Saltiel and Barnett, History and Business Directory . . ., p. 5.

²⁷Dodge to Mrs. Dodge, July 11, 1867, Dodge Records, VI.

²⁸Dodge to Sidney Dillon, July 15, 1867, Dodge Collection, box 5. Dodge Diary, July 15, 1867, Dodge Papers, box 32.

²⁹Dodge to Mrs. Dodge, July 4, 1867, Dodge Records, VI.

could take advantage of the speculative fever which accompanied the founding of previous terminal towns by making a concerted effort to sell town lots: "We must get \$200,000 out of our town and it can be done by work."³⁰ While the company claimed ownership of the townsite, it as yet had no title. The tracks had not been laid this far west and the alternate sections the company was to receive were still legally public property. In addition, the entire region had not been officially surveyed and it was by no means certain that the townsite was located on the company's alternate section. But Dodge simply assumed that the land belonged to the company and the army upheld his claims. To interest prospective buyers of these town lots, Dodge promised the company's complete support of its fledgling city in advertisements such as the following:

The Union Pacific Railroad Company are prepared to sell lots in the town of Cheyenne, Dakota, At the eastern base of the Rocky Mountains, This will be one of the most important depots on the line of the road. The company will erect extensive Machine Shops, Round Houses etc., And it will be the changing point for the running department, as at this point the road commences to ascend the mountains. It is also the point of intersection of the Denver Branch. It will be the distributing point for the Colorado mines and the general depot for all posts on the Fort Laramie, Fort Reno and Montana roads, also the distributing point for all Military Posts, North, West and South. Fort David Russell is located at this town.³¹

³⁰Dodge to Dillon, July 15, 1867, Dodge Collection, box 5.

³¹Leader, September 24, 1867.

Hoping to make a quick profit from a minimum investment, speculators were spurred on by the seemingly limitless potential of the new city. Lots in depot towns east of Cheyenne had usually brought from \$25 to \$250 each, but lots offered for sale through Glenn and Talpey in Cheyenne were soon sold for \$250 to \$600. Even though the "original or first price of the company was considered very high," the company sold \$170,000 worth of lots during 1867.³² Most of these lots sold for one-third cash down with the balance in one or two years. Speculators found a ready market for lots they had purchased from the railroad. Sixty thousand dollars worth of land was said to have changed hands during five days in August;³³ the Union Pacific's division engineer reported that some lots had been resold for as high as \$3,000.³⁴ By October, the city's pioneer newspaper, the Cheyenne Leader, claimed that "lots have advanced from \$600 to \$4,000," and were being "sold to ready cash buyers."³⁵ An example of successful speculation is furnished by the experience of Morton E. Post, a freighter, who came to Cheyenne from Julesburg in July and purchased two lots from Glenn and Talpey for \$600. After building a store on a portion of

³²House, Report of the Chief Engineer . . . 1867, p. 48.

³³Chicago Tribune, August 16, 20, 31, 1867.

³⁴House, Report of the Chief Engineer . . . 1867, p. 48.

³⁵October 10, 1867.

the property, he claimed to have sold the remainder for \$5,600.³⁶ The Chicago Tribune summed up the reasons for the wild speculation:

Here is the new town of Cheyenne, a name, for the last few weeks, in everybody's mouth, and which if half that is said of it is true, will be the place appointed for the next "great world exhibition," by which time Omaha and Chicago will be villages tributary to this infant giant, which is to surpass in growth anything elsewhere of its kind. . . . At any rate people have confidence enough in it to buy its lots greedily at from two hundred to six hundred dollars which, for a town, in a wilderness, with the railroad as yet a hundred miles off, and not a house in sight, is, perhaps, a steep price.³⁷

The army officers at Fort Russell also caught the contagious speculative fever. Gen. J. D. Stevenson felt that the new city "prospects to be [a] big thing."³⁸ He and other officers were given special concessions in purchasing lots; they were the only parties purchasing from the railroad who were not required to put down a part payment in cash. But certain limits were imposed on their purchases, for Glenn and Talpey assured Dodge that "no monopoly is allowed and is as you directed."³⁹ Stevenson

³⁶"Biographical Sketch of Morton E. Post," Cheyenne, c. 1885 (Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley), pp. 9-11.

³⁷August 7, 1867.

³⁸Stevenson to Dodge, August 29, 1867, Dodge Papers, box 337.

³⁹Glenn and Talpey to Dodge, August 31, 1867, Dodge Papers, box 337. The army's special position is illustrated by a plea from an officer for a chance to speculate in one of the western Union Pacific towns. He had been on duty.

assured Dodge that his purchases and subsequent sales to prospective settlers were "all adding to [the] permanent growth of [the] City and [were] for its best interests."⁴⁰

Civil government scarcely existed in the area and Dodge and the railroad company were grateful for the army's protection, which prevented a recurrence of the chaotic conditions characterizing the early days of Julesburg. There, claim jumpers seized much of the company's property, and it was only with great difficulty that order was restored. But the "prompt, determined action of General Stevenson" in Cheyenne resulted in "property values rising and business thriving."⁴¹

Although the company encountered no difficulty with claim jumpers in Cheyenne during the first three months, trouble began toward the end of October. The squatters' actions reflected a good deal of public animosity toward the railroad's policy of withholding some lots from sale, obviously until nearby improvements increased their value. Public meetings were held at which it was claimed that the railroad had no real authority to

elsewhere "last fall at the time Cheyenne was building and the officers present were given by you a chance to speculate." Capt. Q. M. Coates to Dodge, May 16, 1868, Dodge Papers, box 154.

⁴⁰ Stevenson to Dodge, August 29, 1867, Dodge Papers, box 337.

⁴¹ House, Report of the Chief Engineer . . . 1867, p. 18.

sell land. This led to squatting, not only on lots withheld from sale, but also on lots purchased from the railroad. Talpey worriedly wired Dodge: "The feeling is very bitter and increasing." General Stevenson, however, had promised to send three hundred troops to suppress the squatters. Four days later, Talpey assured Dodge that everything was straightened out, for Stevenson was maintaining order.⁴² The Leader felt that the army, which also tore down the improvements of the squatters, was justified in its action. In order to preserve future harmony, however, it suggested the railroad should make a greater effort to sell to actual settlers, rather than continuing policies which had resulted in "the purses of speculators" attaining "plethoric dimensions."⁴³

Much of the population which rushed to Cheyenne appears to have come from Julesburg, but a substantial portion was made up of residents of Denver. Gloom pervaded Denver as many businessmen moved to Cheyenne "believing that only ruins would soon mark the site of the city of Denver."⁴⁴ Among these was a young newspaperman, Nathan A.

⁴² Talpey to Dodge, October 27, 31, 1867, Dodge Papers, box 337. Robert Fulton, Epic of the Overland (San Francisco, 1924), p. 66. Saltiel and Barnett, History and Business Directory . . ., pp. 17, 93. Chicago Times, November 22, 1867.

⁴³ October 29, 1867.

⁴⁴ Wilbur Fisk Stone (ed.), History of Colorado, I (Chicago, 1918), 333-34. Frank Hall, History of the State of Colorado, I (Chicago, 1889), 418. Dean Krakel, South Platte Country (Laramie, 1954), p. 67.

Baker, who had started his publishing career with the Colorado Leader in Denver early in 1867. On September 19 he published the first issue of Cheyenne's pioneer newspaper, the Cheyenne Leader.⁴⁵

Other prospective immigrants, investigating Cheyenne's potential, reported crowds of people and wagon trains loaded with lumber, vegetables, and all sorts of goods, on the road between Denver and Cheyenne.⁴⁶ The Rocky Mountain News insisted that "this Cheyenne excitement is not going to kill off Denver,"⁴⁷ but the rush to the new city certainly gave Denver the greatest fright of her young life. The Leader, while reporting that "total business asphyxia" had not yet struck Denver, believed that Denver was "too near Cheyenne to ever amount to much."⁴⁸

The "Cheyenne excitement" also reached as far west as Salt Lake City.⁴⁹ Reporting the departure of a large mule train for Cheyenne, a Salt Lake City editor (who later left for Cheyenne himself) indicated the optimism of the

⁴⁵ Rocky Mountain News, September 12, 1867. Elizabeth Keen, "Wyoming's Frontier Newspapers," Annals of Wyoming, XXIV (April, 1962), 66. Interviews with Baker, Wyoming State Tribune-Cheyenne State Leader, July 20, 1929; July 27, 1933.

⁴⁶ Rocky Mountain News, August 9, September 14, 1867.

⁴⁷ Quoted by Glenn C. Quiett, They Built the West: An Epic of Rails and Cities (New York, 1934), p. 156.

⁴⁸ September 24, 1867.

⁴⁹ Chicago Tribune, August 28, 1867. Daily Union Vedette (Salt Lake City), October 7, 1867.

emigrants: "Many passengers leave with it, who if their dreams are realized, will be living in 'brown stone fronts' on Fifth Avenue a year hence."⁵⁰

The greatest proportion of Cheyenne's population, however, was made up of the later arrivals from Julesburg. This immigration, usually referred to as "flotsam" and "human trash,"⁵¹ moved a Cheyenne editor to assert later: "When Julesburg died its stinking carcass was thrown into Cheyenne to add to the pestilential atmosphere."⁵² Fear that Julesburg would not be "worth ten cents" after Cheyenne became the terminus of the track was one reason for the exodus,⁵³ but most of the former population simply left because it was made up of the construction crews now advancing toward Cheyenne. The "human birds of prey" merely kept pace. The Union Pacific's laborers apparently were eager customers for the wares of the saloonkeeper, the charms of the prostitute, and willing victims of the gambler.

As in previous railroad terminal towns or western mining camps, the population was kaleidescopic in its character and in its reasons for being there:

⁵⁰ Daily Union Vedette, October 9, 1867.

⁵¹ U.S., Congress, House, "Annual Report of the Surveyor-General, Wyoming Territory," Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 42nd Cong., 3rd Sess., 1872. Exec. Doc. 1, p. 266. Kuykendall, Frontier Days . . . , p. 116.

⁵² Wyoming Tribune (Cheyenne), October 8, 1870.

⁵³ Daily Miners Register (Central City), September 3, 1867.

Its streets were filled with a motley crew, every class from every land, a mixture of people second to none this side of Galata Bridge, across the Golden Horn. Hunter and trapper, Sioux and Snake, Pawnee and Piegan, Kanaka and Chinaman, cowboy and railroad man, laborer and capitalist, engineer and sightseer, artist and lawyer, thief and highwayman, all sorts and conditions of men, rich and poor, big and little; some there for health, some to escape jail, some to have a good time, but most of us for a chance to win an honest living a little more easily than we could back in the old home.⁵⁴

Contemporary estimates of the numbers congregated at this spot during the winter of 1867-1868 range from four to ten thousand.⁵⁵ The laborers themselves probably numbered four to five thousand,⁵⁶ other inhabitants about four thousand. The fact that eight to nine thousand persons were resident at a previously uninhabited spot, if only for a winter, seems ample justification for the contention that Cheyenne was "The Magic City of the Plains."

The rapid growth of the population was paralleled by the "magical" rise of the city. One resident maintained

⁵⁴ Fulton, Epic of the Overland, pp. 65-66.

⁵⁵ House, "Annual Report of the Surveyor-General, Wyo. Terr.," Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1872, p. 166. Louis Laurent Simonin, "A French View of Cheyenne," The Frontier, X (March, 1930), 241. Chicago Tribune, November 24, 1867. Leader, November 2, 1867; February 15, 1868. E. B. Tuttle, Six Months on the Plains: or, The Travellers Guide to Cheyenne and the Rocky Mountains (Chicago, 1868), p. 8. N. S. Thomas (ed.), Diary and Letters of the Reverend Joseph W. Cook, Missionary to Cheyenne (Laramie, 1919), p. 12.

⁵⁶ [Union Pacific Railroad Company], Progress of Their Road to 1867 (New York, 1868), pp. 7-8. Oscar Winther, The Transportation Frontier, Trans-Mississippi West, 1865-1890 (New York, 1964), p. 110.

that "the eye could hardly keep pace with the growth of the town from one day to another. Buildings sprang up as if by magic."⁵⁷

A correspondent of the Chicago Times believed that Cheyenne's rise was "the most wonderful example of rapid growth that the history of the world can show."⁵⁸

Estimates of the rapidity of growth varied with the optimism of the observer. The most zealous local booster, the Leader, claimed that almost three hundred buildings were erected by mid-October and as many as two hundred business houses by the beginning of November.⁵⁹

The Chicago Tribune more realistically set the figure at about two hundred completed buildings by late November.⁶⁰

But almost half of these "buildings" were tents or simply temporary shacks.⁶¹ An English traveller described these buildings as "only a set of the rudest shanties, half-finished wooden boxes, dropped down on the prairie in a way that looked so uncomfortable and temporary as even to make one regret the older wooden boxes at Julesburg."⁶²

One reason for the shanty-like appearance of the

⁵⁷ Charles V. Arnold to the Editor, Omaha Weekly Herald, October 3, 1867.

⁵⁸ October 24, 1867.

⁵⁹ October 19, November 2, 1867.

⁶⁰ November 24, 1867.

⁶¹ Rocky Mountain News, September 14, 1867.

⁶² John White, Sketches from America (London, 1870), p. 275.

city was the scarcity of construction materials in the immediate vicinity. As the bare plains surrounding the city provided no building materials, logs and lumber were hauled only from a great distance. An immense amount of lumber was shipped from Denver; this lumber commanded prices of \$100 to \$120 per thousand board feet, but the demand constantly exceeded the supply.⁶³ Merchants, therefore, were often forced to begin operations before being able to build permanent premises.

Dry goods boxes are dumped from wagons and their contents taken therefrom and ranged for display upon the boxes, on each business street of town.⁶⁴

Hundreds unable to obtain anything better, stripped the "Onaborg" off their wagon bows, and with the aid of a half dozen of poles and a handful of ten pennys, would throw up a structure in an hour and in another, business would be in full blast in it. Saloons were opened in the open air; and men with a ten gallon keg or jug filled with whiskey and a glass or two to deal it out in, did such business as would make a N. Y. financier stare.⁶⁵

To meet the demand for construction materials, buildings in Denver and Julesburg were torn down and shipped to Cheyenne. The movement of such bulky freight was facilitated by the arrival of the railroad at the townsite in

⁶³Rocky Mountain News, August 3, 7, 12, 23, 1867. Chicago Tribune, August 13, September 18, October 15, December 7, 1867. Chicago Times, October 24, 1867. Leader, September 24, 1867. John Slaughter, "Life in Colorado and Wyoming," Cheyenne, 1884 (Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley), pp. 1-2.

⁶⁴Leader, December 21, 1867.

⁶⁵Leader, September 24, 1867.

November. An onlooker told of standing at the railroad depot as a "long freight arrived, laden with frame houses, boards, furniture, polings, old tents, and all the rubbish which makes up one of these mushrooming 'cities.' The guard jumped off his van, and seeing some friends on the platform, called out with a flourish, 'Gentlemen, here's Julesburg.'" ⁶⁶

The city wildly greeted the completion of the railroad tracks to the townsite on the afternoon of November 13. The following evening the city officials gave the contractors and Union Pacific officials a formal reception followed by a ball and a dinner. The rail link with the outside world was now a fact. Freight service began immediately and passenger service was initiated by November 18. ⁶⁷ The Leader summed up the residents' feelings about the future that was to be Cheyenne's by means of the railroad:

All Hail! ye mighty agencies, steam and lightning, of modern civilization, that like some enormous chieftain, dashing so gallantly forward, and opening the seaboard purses to pour the world's treasures at the feet of the "Pride of the Plains," and bind about her the pearly necklace of population and power. ⁶⁸

The sudden concentration of people and the rapid rise of the "Magic City" gave credence to the Union Pacific's

⁶⁶ William A. Bell, New Tracks in North America (New York, 1870), p. 18.

⁶⁷ Leader, November 14, 16, 1867. Chicago Tribune, November 16, 1867. Chicago Times, November 16, 18, 22, 1867.

⁶⁸ Leader, November 14, 1867.



Fig. 2.--Sixteenth Street from the West, Fall, 1867.



Fig. 3.--Sixteenth Street from the West, Late Fall, 1868.

This photograph, while showing the bleak character of the frontier city nevertheless illustrates the remarkable improvements made in one year. Buildings are much more substantial and permanent than those pictures in the previous photograph.

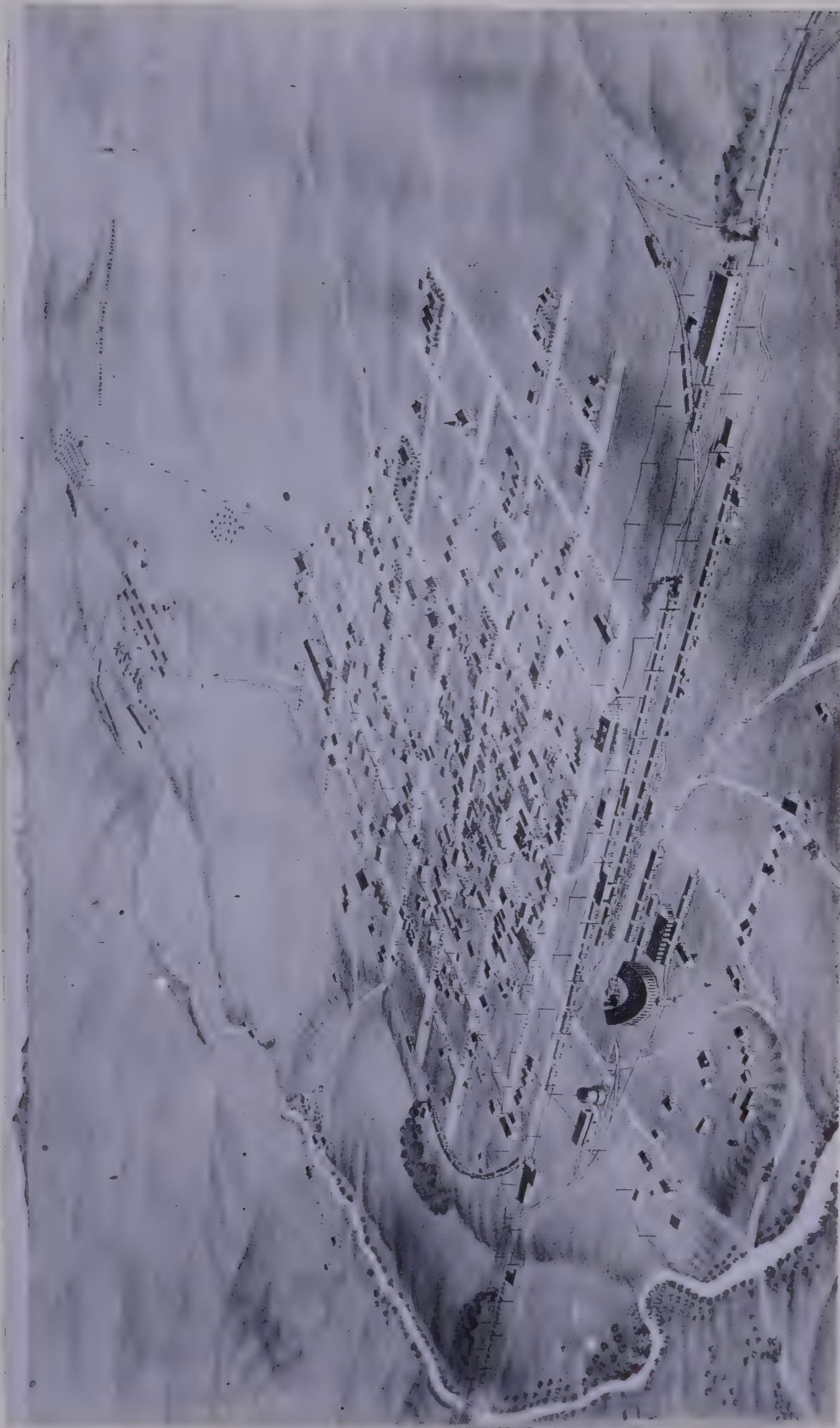


Fig. 4.--Cheyenne from the Southeast, 1870.

This highly stylized sketch exaggerates the size of Crow Creek as well as the buildings in the city, but does illustrate the barren surrounding terrain. Fort Russell and the road to Fort Laramie appear in the background.

claims for the city. It also contributed to a growing sense of community as residents began to see the potential of their city in relation to rival cities. Grandiose dreams about Cheyenne's role as "the city of the west" became more vocal; the Leader began to refer to Cheyenne as the "New Chicago."⁶⁹ Another optimist predicted that Cheyenne would become the biggest city between Chicago and San Francisco; although "Denver may dispute with it that pre-eminence for a while . . . ultimately Cheyenne will win."⁷⁰

But local bravado could not compensate for the fact that the city's future depended to a greater extent on the decisions of an outside corporation than upon any actions of the community. The Union Pacific had promised to make Cheyenne "one of the most important depots on the line of the road," as the company would build "extensive Machine Shops, Round Houses, etc." To one of Cheyenne's most exuberant boosters, this promise was soon magnified into "the largest MACHINE SHOP in the United States" which would employ "about 5,000 men."⁷¹ By the spring of 1868, however, the railroad had not shown any signs of beginning its promised improvements. Fear began to grip Cheyenne that it might become "a second Julesburg, to be swept away" by the next metropolis to spring up as construction proceeded

⁶⁹ January 17, 31, February 1, 1868.

⁷⁰ Chicago Times, November 15, 1867.

⁷¹ Tuttle, Six Months on the Plains. . ., p. 8.

westward.⁷² With Laramie City's sudden birth in the spring, "public sentiment was pretty well divided" as to whether "Cheyenne would amount to anything after that."⁷³ Would the Union Pacific actually provide Cheyenne with a stable economic basis by building its shops there? In order to mollify the city, the directors of the company, meeting in New York, adopted a resolution assuring Cheyenne that they intended to locate at Cheyenne "the principal depot and repair shops of the company for the eastern base of the Rocky Mountains."⁷⁴

The company's assurance, however, indicated a far less glorious future for Cheyenne than had been envisaged by its sanguine supporters. The "eastern base of the Rocky Mountains" was not necessarily a large territory. The city soon understood what the company's resolution meant. By the end of April, T. C. Durant, the vice-president of the company, and several company directors were in Laramie City "letting contracts for machine shops, roundhouses and very extensive buildings to be built of stone."⁷⁵ The Frontier Index, a Bedouin-like newspaper located at Laramie City during this period, exulted in Cheyenne's misfortune: "They were going to have the U.P.R.R. shops as the main support

⁷² Omaha Weekly Herald, February 19, 1868.

⁷³ Slaughter, "Life in Colorado and Wyoming," pp.3-4.

⁷⁴ Leader, February 14, 15, 1868. Resolutions printed in Leader, March 2, 1868. Omaha Weekly Herald, February 19, 1868.

⁷⁵ Frontier Index (Laramie City), April 28, 1868.

of their town! good joke on Shian."⁷⁶ Cheyenne now began to receive the type of abuse it had heaped on Denver several months earlier. According to the Frontier Index, Cheyenne was "no longer the Great Chicago" and was without a future because it was "too near Laramie to be a big point."⁷⁷

Cheyenne could do pitifully little to influence the Union Pacific's decision. A recently organized Board of Trade did what it could to battle for what it considered to be Cheyenne's rightful place in the Union Pacific sun. Their case could only be based on demands for justice. In a resolution addressed to the company's directors, the Board demanded new assurances that the company's promises to Cheyenne would be kept. The Board claimed that Cheyenne's property values and general prosperity had sharply declined since the contracts had been let at Laramie City and that Cheyenne's residents no longer trusted the company's sincerity.⁷⁸ The Leader blamed Durant personally for Cheyenne's dilemma. He was "openly and notoriously endeavoring to injure Cheyenne and ruin those who have invested here."⁷⁹ Durant was soon popularly identified with Laramie City and its interests; 80 Laramie was "his town as this [Cheyenne] is General Dodge's."

⁷⁶ April 28, 1868.

⁷⁷ May 5, 1868.

⁷⁸ Leader, May 8, 1868.

⁷⁹ Leader, May 8, 1868.

⁸⁰ Thomas, Diary and Letters of the Rev. J. W.

But invective could not alter the feeling that the bottom seemed to have fallen out of Cheyenne's future. N. A. Baker of the Leader admitted that at "no time since the founding of Cheyenne has there been more universal gloom and doubt pervading the minds of our citizens." There was no point in hiding the obvious fact that "Cheyenne is the creation of the Union Pacific Railroad, and by the acts of that corporation does she stand or fall."⁸¹ The Daily Rocky Mountain Star, a new arrival on the city's newspaper scene, warned against a belligerent attitude on the part of the town, however, as "we could not for a moment exist out here as a community, were it not for this very means of transit which had caused the peopling of this territory."⁸² The railroad company continued to assure Cheyenne that the company's promises would be kept and work was actually begun on a roundhouse late in the summer.⁸³ But the expected prize had been snatched from the city's hands. Cheyenne was not to be the sole recipient of the company's beneficence.

Cook . . . , p. 93. The Frontier Index facetiously reported that Durant was "recovering from the wounds lately inflicted upon him by the Cheyennes and the terrific blows of the Shian press." May 19, 1868.

⁸¹May 9, 1868.

⁸²June 13, 1868.

⁸³R. E. Talpey to Col. C. A. Henry, President of the Board of Trade, printed in Leader, May 21, 1868. Leader, June 29, July 10, November 13, 18, 1868. U.S., Congress, House, "Annual Report of the Surveyor-General, Wyoming Territory," Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 40th Cong., 3rd Sess., 1868, Exec. Doc. 1, p. 48.

The failure to get the promised railroad shops and, thus, an industrial base did not, however, rule out the possibility that Cheyenne could supplant Denver as the commercial center of the mountain and plains region. Denver had been sorely struck by its failure to get the transcontinental railroad and Cheyenne's merchants were able to take advantage of Denver's isolation to capture some of that city's former markets. Cheyenne became the headquarters for an "immense army" of freighters--the colorful wagon-masters, muleskinners, and bullwhackers--who transported goods to points north, west, and south of Cheyenne. Camp Carlin, the quartermaster's depot halfway between Fort Russell and the city, was a central factor stimulating the growth of the freighting business. Hundreds of freighters with their outfits were employed to transport supplies from the depot's twelve large warehouses to far-flung army posts in Colorado, Dakota, Montana, and Utah.⁸⁴ In addition to transporting government military supplies, freighters were busy hauling groceries, dry goods, machinery, and other articles to the merchants of northern Colorado's agricultural and mining settlements.⁸⁵ The Sweetwater gold rush,

⁸⁴"Medical History of Fort Russell," I, 3. Tuttle, Six Months on the Plains . . ., p. 9. Julius Silversmith, The New Northwest (Cheyenne, 1868), pp. 22-23. Chicago Tribune, December 12, 1867. Leader, October 15, December 10, 1867; April 22, May 1, 1868.

⁸⁵Silversmith, The New Northwest, pp. 7-9. Leader, October 31, November 23, 1867.

a minor find in the western portion of what would become Wyoming Territory, also provided work for the freighters based in Cheyenne during the spring and summer of 1868. Merchants had stocked up on miners' supplies during the winter and, as hundreds were outfitted and left for the mines in the spring, their provisions and equipment were transported by the wagon trains of the Nye Forwarding Company or one of the numerous smaller companies.⁸⁶

The local freighters and freighting companies were overshadowed by Wells, Fargo and Company, the major express and stagecoach company west of the Missouri River.⁸⁷ This company's passenger and express service gave Cheyenne its chief link with cities not on the Union Pacific; lines extended south to Denver, west to Salt Lake City and California, and north to Helena, Montana.⁸⁸ The extent of passenger travel and the number of goods shipped from Cheyenne are indicated by the company's cash receipts at Cheyenne which reportedly totalled \$304,000 for the year 1868.⁸⁹ While necessary to the city's economy, Wells, Fargo was far from popular. Described as the "quintessence of soulless

⁸⁶ Leader, February 5, March 20, April 2, May 19, 1868.

⁸⁷ Winther, The Transportation Frontier. . ., pp. 56-57.

⁸⁸ Leader, November 19, 1867; February 26, 1868.

⁸⁹ Cheyenne Argus, January 6, 1869, quoted by Silver-smith, The New Northwest, p. 7.

monopolies," the company was sharply criticized for "making the travelling public pay dearly."⁹⁰ Fares over the company's heavily used Cheyenne to Denver route (a distance of slightly more than 100 miles) were \$27.75 and then \$25 until a local carrier, Nye Forwarding Company, began to compete with \$10 fares, and advertised: "Remember who makes monopolies come down."⁹¹ Wells, Fargo's mail delivery was also criticized, the Leader charging that mail from the south and the west was irregular because the company neglected its mail contract and emphasized its private express service.⁹² Often the company's tactics were not designed to win friends. When Denver invited Cheyenne city officials to discuss the building of the Denver Pacific (which would eliminate one of Well's Fargo's lucrative stagecoach lines), the bi-weekly stage deliberately left early, forcing the delegation to find another means of conveyance: the Nye Forwarding Company's Denver run was the result.⁹³

Cheyenne's merchants, at the hub of this extensive transportation system, did a brisk trade in groceries, liquors, and mining supplies. Glenn and Talpey, Cornforth Brothers, and Gilbert Adams and Company were among those

⁹⁰Leader, March 3, 1868.

⁹¹Leader, March 13, 1868. Rocky Mountain News, August 26, October 7, 1867.

⁹²Leader, July 29, 1868.

⁹³Leader, March 3, 4, 1868.

reported to be doing \$20,000 to \$25,000 worth of business a month.⁹⁴ Post sutlers at Fort Laramie and elsewhere bought much of their merchandise from Cheyenne merchants. Fort Russell's twelve hundred troops were provisioned primarily by the quartermaster's depot, but retailers in Cheyenne did a heavy trade, especially in liquor, with the troops at the post. Merchants sent large quantities of goods to their counterparts in northern Colorado and also outfitted many Sweetwater miners.⁹⁵

Among the most lucrative commercial ventures during that first buoyant winter of the city's existence were the hotel and restaurant businesses. Large numbers of transients, unmarried young men, required board and lodging of some sort; also, because of the worldwide interest in the West, engendered by the construction of the first transcontinental railroad, the curious descended upon Cheyenne, hoping to see for themselves what "the hardest place on this continent" looked like.⁹⁶ Public accommodations, however, were virtually non-existent during the first month after the city's founding. Discarded storage boxes

⁹⁴ Tuttle, Six Months on the Plains . . ., pp. 9-11. Cheyenne Argus, January 6, 1869, quoted by Silversmith, The New Northwest, p. 7.

⁹⁵ Tuttle, Six Months on the Plains . . ., p. 9. Silversmith, The New Northwest, pp. 22-23. Leader, October 15, 31, December 10, 1867; February 5, April 22, May 1, 1868.

⁹⁶ F. Barnham Zincke, Last Winter in the United States (London, 1868), p. 209.

and tents were used by many. Dugouts honeycombed the banks of Crow Creek. W. W. Corlett, a young lawyer, slept under a wagon for several months before progressing to the loft of a saloon.⁹⁷

Accommodations soon improved as hotels, restaurants, and boarding houses were hastily erected. By December, the Leader reported eleven hotels of varying sizes and quality in operation. One of the first and most popular of the hotels was the Dodge House, while the largest and most substantial was the Rollins House. The Railroad House and Ford's provided the other major public accommodation.⁹⁸

Hotels and restaurants usually charged \$1 per meal in addition to \$3 to \$5 a day for a room. Ford's Restaurant, reported to serve the best food in town, served between 700 and 1,000 meals a day.⁹⁹ As in other young western communities, facilities for food and lodging were primitive at best. Travellers complained bitterly about the "extravagant price of living"¹⁰⁰ which they said was not matched by comfortable accommodations or digestible food. Those

⁹⁷ Slaughter, "Life in Colorado and Wyoming," p. 2. W. W. Corlett, "The Founding of Cheyenne," Cheyenne, 1885 (Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley), p. 6.

⁹⁸ Leader, December 10, 1867; January 29, 1868.

⁹⁹ Tuttle, Six Months on the Plains . . ., p. 13.

¹⁰⁰ Lola M. Homsher (ed.), South Pass, 1868: James Chisholm's Journal of the Wyoming Gold Rush (Lincoln, 1960), p. 34.

who rather foolishly expected eastern or European standards were disappointed. An example is a female visitor's description of the Dodge House's facilities:

The dining room was like the rest of the building, of the roughest possible construction. The table was covered with a dark colored oil-cloth, full of grease and dirt, and the supper . . . was so uninviting in appearance that I could eat but little of it.¹⁰¹

Even the Leader admitted that "it is whispered in town and muttered among travellers that better meals can be had anywhere, than in this place."¹⁰²

Facilitating the lively activity in public accommodations and in the distributing and wholesaling businesses was the introduction of banking. Three western-based banks opened branches in the city during the first year. These branches, which increased the volume of money available to local businessmen, also indicated the pattern of financial control being established in the region. H. J. Rogers and Company, opening the first bank with a safe in a tent in September, 1867, was a branch of the First National Bank of Denver. Kountze Brothers and J. A. Ware and Company were branches of banks based in Omaha.¹⁰³

The exaggerated business activity during 1867 and 1868 seemed to indicate that Cheyenne was succeeding Denver

¹⁰¹Loreta J. Vasquez, The Woman in Battle (Hartford, 1876), pp. 578-79.

¹⁰²August 15, 1868.

¹⁰³Tuttle, Six Months on the Plains . . ., pp.13-14. Leader, September 26, 1867.

as the commercial center of the region in one swift blow. But this activity masked the relatively shaky basis for this hegemony. By the summer of 1868 almost two-thirds of the city's winter population had moved west with the construction of the railroad. Cheyenne's population, even after this mass exodus, was still almost equal to Denver's, but obviously lacked the organization and stability of the older city's population.

In the flush of their apparent victory over Denver, Cheyenne's residents failed to see the dangers involved in their position. Little concern was shown over the Union Pacific's promises to aid Denver in the construction of a branch line to connect that city with the main transcontinental line. After all, according to the arrangement Grenville Dodge made with the Denver businessmen who organized a railroad called the Denver Pacific, this new line would join the Union Pacific at Cheyenne. Shops and a depot would be located at Cheyenne. Dodge believed the branch line would foster Cheyenne's position as a distributing center. He therefore instructed his division engineer to "have the Press blow it, as a great help to Cheyenne."¹⁰⁴ But this branch line proved to be anything but a great help to Cheyenne as it took away Cheyenne's major advantage over Denver. While the Union Pacific eventually

¹⁰⁴Dodge to J. E. House, December 28, 1868, Dodge Papers, box 152. Leader, January 15, 1868.

withdrew its support of the branch line, Denver's energetic business community carried on alone and by 1870 the link with the Union Pacific and Cheyenne was an accomplished fact. At the same time, also partly due to the efforts of Denver's businessmen, the Kansas Pacific had trains running from Kansas City to Denver, giving that city direct eastern rail connections. The combined effect of these two railroads undermined Cheyenne's advantage. In a short time, Denver had reasserted its commercial hegemony over the region.¹⁰⁵

The reasons for Denver's triumph over Cheyenne were not immediately obvious, nor in fact are they in retrospect, for many factors are involved in determining a city's victory over a rival. Some of the factors, such as determination and enterprise, were within the control of each community. Denver refused to concede victory to Cheyenne in spite of Cheyenne's obvious advantage in having the transcontinental railroad. In a tremendous burst of energy, Denver's business community worked to gain the necessary rail connections. Cheyenne, on the other hand, without the fully developed sense of community exhibited by its older and more firmly established rival, tended to rely on the corporation that gave it birth. Cheyenne's residents regarded their railroad as a great natural advantage which

¹⁰⁵ Leader, March 7, April 23, June 16, August 1, September 23, 1868. Quiett, They Built the West . . ., pp. 143-81. Ralph N. Traxler, "Some Phases of the History of the Colorado Central Railroad, 1867-1885" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Colorado, 1947), pp. 13-14.

simply could not be overcome by any rivals. As in the case of Kansas City's rivals who believed that they had all of the natural advantages, this attitude led to the belief that no action on the community's part was necessary.¹⁰⁶ Concentrated community action at this stage of Cheyenne's development would have been extremely difficult at best because most of the energy of municipal and business leaders was taken up in the attempt to maintain law and order. Moreover, during the hectic first year, no natural leaders had definitely emerged to direct the community's action in the commercial realm. The social disorganization typical of a boom town, more fully discussed in the following chapter, was thus an inhibiting factor in Cheyenne's development as a regional metropolis.

Other factors in the rivalry between these two cities, such as geographic location and the pattern of agricultural settlement in their vicinities, were beyond the control of either community. Cheyenne's location seemed at least as good as Denver's. Both were in a position to take advantage of the traditional break in transportation which necessitated the transfer of goods from one form of conveyance to another with all of the resulting development of

¹⁰⁶ For an excellent discussion of the reasons why Kansas City eclipsed its rivals, see: A. Theodore Brown, Frontier Community, Kansas City to 1870 (Columbia, Mo., 1963), pp. 197-229; and Charles N. Glaab, Kansas City and the Railroads: Community Policy in the Growth of a Regional Metropolis (Madison, 1962), pp. 27-35, 127, 159.

warehouses, financial institutions, and so on.¹⁰⁷ In this respect, Denver imported goods and shipped them to points south and particularly to the mining camps to the west, while Cheyenne's freighters transferred goods from the railroad to the northern military posts. Cheyenne's location on the transcontinental railroad, however, proved to be a mixed blessing, for goods shipped from eastern points to communities west of Cheyenne did not have to be handled at Cheyenne, but merely passed through on the freight trains.

In the matter of agricultural development in the vicinity of either city, Denver had a definite advantage because of the numerous little communities based on irrigation which sprang up around it, providing that city with some nearby agricultural population. The semi-arid plains in Cheyenne's vicinity, however, offered little hope for a population of farmers. Enough water for irrigation was simply not available. For this reason, residents looked with increasing interest at local experiments in stock-raising which apparently were feasible in spite of the arid environment. In observing the most successful of these stockgrowers, J. W. Iliff, the Leader predicted that the residents of the area would eventually turn from their present interests to make "stock raising a speciality"¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁷ Adna Ferrin Weber, The Growth of Cities in the Nineteenth Century (Ithaca, [1899] 1963), pp. 172-73. Wade, The Urban Frontier . . ., pp. 13-14.

¹⁰⁸ Leader, May 8, 1868.

of the area. Indicating the line that optimists would later follow, the chaplain at Fort Russell prophesied that Cheyenne would become "the stock growing center, not only of America, but of the world."¹⁰⁹

The relatively sparse settlement required for stock-raising did not support the growth of great commercial centers, as residents were to discover in later years. A certain degree of commercial activity could be maintained by provisioning the scattered military posts and serving as a distributing center to other communities not as advantageously located on a railroad or supplying goods to an occasional boom such as the Sweetwater gold rush. The city's future as a railroad town appeared uncertain. The Union Pacific, especially in the person of Grenville Dodge, had given life to the city, and the activity surrounding the railroad's construction had given the initial impetus to the city's commercial development. But even an important way station along the railroad would probably not sustain a large population. The future seemed to lie toward the north where both agriculture and new mining booms beckoned. In the next few years, the city increasingly acted to open this territory, reserved for the Sioux Indians, to white settlement and thus provide itself with a suitable hinterland.

¹⁰⁹Tuttle, Six Months on the Plains . . ., pp. 16-17.

CHAPTER II

THE ORGANIZATION OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Moulding a stable and orderly community out of the thousands of persons who arrived in Cheyenne en masse appeared an almost impossible task during the winter of 1867-1868. A majority of those who made the young city their residence considered it merely a temporary stopping place. The disorganized state of this society during the earliest months necessitated the imposition of law and order from outside the community itself. But the city had risen in a virtually uninhabited region, far from the reach of any established civil jurisdiction. The responsibility for law enforcement, thus, was taken up by the only established form of authority in the region, the Union Pacific, and its ally, the army. Like everything else in this instant city, the first steps to establishing local rule were taken almost immediately. A provisional city government was set up in August, 1867, several weeks after the earliest settlers arrived, and was replaced by a legally chartered government the following January. The forms of these governments were closely modelled on those residents had known in other cities. The use of previously successful forms, however, did not result in stable social organization overnight, and city authorities were often forced to rely on the company

and the army for support.

The area in which Cheyenne appeared (to become Wyoming Territory in 1868) had been "temporarily attached" to Dakota Territory in 1864 and had been organized as Laramie County in January, 1867.¹ But by July and August of 1867, all vestiges of this county system seemed to have disappeared. Dakota's officials were understandably reluctant to exert themselves on behalf of this sudden influx of population to the far western reaches of their territory. Not only was Cheyenne over 400 miles from the territorial capital, Yankton, but the region most likely would soon have its own territorial organization. But Congressional action in granting territorial status was extremely slow with the result that as the Union Pacific's construction crews left Nebraska they passed into territory where no civil authority existed. The Union Pacific, therefore, found it necessary to call on the army for protection of its property against both Indians and those whites who refused to recognize the company's paramountcy in the region.² At Grenville Dodge's request, Maj.-

¹U.S., Statutes at Large, XII, 92. Dakota Territory, Session Laws of the Sixth Legislative Assembly, 1866-1867 (Yankton, 1867), p. 43.

²The federal government's hesitancy in granting Wyoming territorial status was typical of the general ineffectiveness of the government, especially in relation to the territories. Earl Pomeroy, The Territories and the United States, 1861-1890 (Philadelphia, 1947). For a more detailed discussion of the Union Pacific's activities in the context of the weakness of the federal government, see Wallace Farnham, "'The Weakened Spring of Government': A Study in Nineteenth-Century American History," American Historical Review, LXVIII (April, 1963), 662-80.

Gen. C. C. Augur, the Commander of the Department of the Platte, ordered the commander of Fort Russell, Brig.-Gen. J. D. Stevenson, to "take such measures" as,

in the absence of all civil law here, will preserve the peace and quiet of the community. . . . Until such time as the civil authorities may establish courts of law . . . he wishes you to protect the legal rights of the Union Pacific Railroad Company from infringements, and secure their property from illegal seizure and occupation . . . avoid, as much as possible, the appearance of an assumption by the military of an improper control or exercise of authority over citizens.³

However, Cheyenne's citizens, like most Americans, considered military rule as a temporarily necessary but unpleasant condition. As the officer in charge of establishing law and order in Dodge City, Kansas, wrote: "There is . . . throughout the whole country a very great jealousy on the part of civilians and civilian officers of any interference of the military."⁴ In order to organize civil government as quickly as possible and, therefore, end the necessity for the "strong and efficient, but distasteful military rule"⁵ in Cheyenne, a number of the earliest arrivals made plans early in August to form a provisional

³ Bvt. Lt.-Col. Lewis Merrill to Stevenson, July 21, 1867, U.S., Congress, House, "Annual Report of the Commander, Department of the Platte," Report of the Secretary of War, 40th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1868, Exec. Doc. 1, p. 56. Dodge Diary, July 21, 1867, Grenville M. Dodge Papers (Iowa State Department of History and Archives, Des Moines), box 321.

⁴ Maj. R. I. Dodge to Governor T. A. Osborn, July 5, 1873, quoted by Stanley Vestal, Dodge City, Queen of Cowtowns (New York, 1952), p. 33.

⁵ Nebraska City News, August 31, 1867.

city government. In addition to the general desire to replace military with civilian authority, the earliest residents wished to establish a firm, stable government before the expected onslaught from Julesburg later in the fall, to insure that the chaos in Julesburg would not be repeated in Cheyenne. Many of this group were previous residents of Denver and Colorado; the example of Denver's provisional government of 1860 guided their thinking. Denver, nominally in Arapaho County, Kansas, was six hundred miles from the Kansas legislature and was forced to draw up the provisional "People's Government" to provide effective law enforcement in the new mining community.⁶

The driving force behind the organization of Cheyenne's provisional government was James R. Whitehead, who had some legal experience in Kansas before migrating to Colorado and then to Cheyenne.⁷ Whitehead called a meeting of interested persons at A. C. Beckwith's store on August 7 to discuss "the organization of a permanent City Government for the future protection of the Citizens of our Young City

⁶Clyde L. King, The History of the Government of Denver with Special Reference to its Relations with Public Service Corporations (Denver, 1911), pp. 18-25.

⁷"James Richard Whitehead," The Trail, X (May, 1918), 28. William Kuykendall, Frontier Days, A True Narrative of Striking Events on the Western Frontier (Cheyenne, 1917), pp. 1-114. Emanuel H. Saltiel and George Barnett, History and Business Directory of Cheyenne and Guide to the Mining Regions of the Rocky Mountains (Cheyenne, 1868), p. 11. Leader, May 13, 1868.

and the punishment of offenders of the law."⁸ He was chosen chairman of a committee which included Beckwith and R. E. Talpey, a general merchant and Union Pacific agent, to draft a city charter. This charter was unanimously accepted at a second meeting at Beckwith's store the following evening. According to the charter, Cheyenne's populace was located "in a Territory the most settled portions of which together with its government officers and courts are so far distant as to be inaccessible [sic] to them";⁹ therefore, the city's inhabitants were forced to organize an extra-legal provisional government. The charter called for the election of the traditional American form of municipal government--a mayor, six councilmen, a police magistrate, a marshal, a city attorney, a clerk and recorder, and a treasurer and collector. The election of these officials for one-year terms would take place at Beckwith's store on August 10. As every resident was a recent arrival, any male over twenty-one years of age could vote; future elections would require the relatively long residence of ten days.¹⁰

It is unlikely that much campaigning took place or that political parties in any way influenced the election,

⁸Cheyenne, City Council, Minutes of Meetings, August 7, 1867 (Wyoming State Archives and Historical Department, Cheyenne).

⁹City Council, Minutes, August 8, 1867.

¹⁰City Council, Minutes, August 8, 1867.

but as no local newspaper had been established as yet, little information exists on the interest shown or the size of the vote. To insure an orderly election, no liquor was allowed to be sold during the balloting.¹¹ The officials elected were primarily experienced frontiersmen. H. M. Hook, chosen mayor, migrated to Kansas from Pennsylvania in 1854 and engaged in freighting supplies to military posts. In 1867 he moved to Colorado and then Cheyenne where he became the co-owner of the "Great Western Stable," the largest business of its kind in the city.¹² John Slaughter, elected police magistrate, migrated to Colorado from Ohio in 1861 and, like Whitehead and Hook, had earlier freighted government supplies.¹³ Whitehead won the post of city attorney, and another early arrival, Thomas McLeland, was elected city clerk. Little or no information is available on other officials, most of whom remained in Cheyenne only a short time before following railroad construction west.

Following the example of officials and promoters of previous frontier cities, Cheyenne's officials quickly borrowed laws from cities familiar to them.¹⁴ Because most

¹¹Chicago Times, October 24, 1867.

¹²Leader, November 2, 1867; July 10, 1868; June 18, 1869. Saltiel and Barnett, History and Business Directory . . ., p. 27.

¹³John Slaughter, "Life in Colorado and Wyoming," Cheyenne, 1884 (Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley), p. 2.

¹⁴Blake McKelvey, The Urbanization of America, 1860-

were former residents of Colorado and some were acquainted with Colorado's legal system, they adopted the "entire code of civil and criminal laws of Colorado Territory when the same are not locally inapplicable" as the basis of the new government, even though Cheyenne was located in Dakota Territory.¹⁵ City Council also adopted the rules and order of business of the Denver City Council and the entire ordinances of Denver, as they were "well calculated for the government of a city like ours."¹⁶ The hectic conditions which characterized the first month of the government's existence necessitated the hasty adoption of a code of laws; original laws for Cheyenne's particular situation were not considered essential. With the government firmly established by the middle of September, the statutes of Colorado were repealed and replaced by those of Dakota Territory. All ordinances which originated from those of Denver, however, remained in force.¹⁷

The provisional city government thus set up was based on public support rather than statute law, for the

1915 (New Brunswick, N.J., 1963), p. 11. Richard Wade, The Urban Frontier, Pioneer Life in Early Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Lexington, Louisville, and St. Louis (Chicago, [1959] 1964), pp. 27-35. Bayrd Still, "Patterns of Mid-Nineteenth Century Urbanization in the Middle West," MVHR, XVIII (September, 1941), 187-206.

¹⁵City Council, Minutes, August 16, 19, 1867.

¹⁶City Council, Minutes, August 17, September 2, 1867.

¹⁷City Council, Minutes, September 18, 1867.

city had not yet received a charter from the Dakota legislature. While Cheyenne's city authorities were not bound by the usual financial restraints placed on city governments by powerful state or territorial legislatures,¹⁸ they were financially limited by the extent to which residents were willing to support them. During the five and one-half months this government remained in office, it collected over \$15,000 from its two sources of revenue, the licensing of various businesses and fines paid for violation of the city ordinances.¹⁹ Licences to saloons provided about one-third of the revenue; forty-two were licensed by mid-November, each paying a fee of \$50 every three months. Another heavily taxed form of business was cartage. Every hack, wagon, or dray paid \$50 a month for a licence. On the other hand, hotels and restaurants paid only \$10 for a three-month licence.²⁰

Support for the government was far from unanimous. Many businessmen refused to pay assessments with the result that the provisional government spent \$8,000 more than it collected. Dissatisfaction with the inequality of the licensing system and alleged corruption (it was claimed that money paid to city officials for licences did not always appear at the city treasurer's desk) caused some businessmen

¹⁸ Wade, The Urban Frontier . . ., pp. 72-79

¹⁹ Leader, September 28, 1867; February 3, 1868.

²⁰ Leader, September 24, 1867. City Council, Minutes, August 7 to November 13, 1867.

to advocate a "ripping up" of the provisional government. Baker of the Leader cautioned patience, for he feared that any future provisional government would lack stability if the present one were overthrown.²¹

In the organization of the law courts, as in the formation of the city government, the residents did not readily depart from the traditions they remembered and understood. The unsettled conditions of the frontier city, however, forced a certain degree of improvisation and experimentation. The Police Magistrate's Court originally heard all criminal cases except murder, and had jurisdiction in all civil cases not exceeding \$500.²² When Cheyenne's lawyers began to feel that this court by itself was inadequate for Cheyenne's legal needs, they recommended the establishment of a Superior Court which would have appellate jurisdiction in cases arising from the police court. This new court would also have original jurisdiction in chancery and probate cases and over all cases not covered by the police court.²³ A public vote on November 15, 1867, approved this proposed amendment to the provisional city charter, and also elected W. H. Miller as Judge of the new Superior Court with powers to make the necessary adjustments to facilitate the operation of the

²¹Leader, December 27, 1867.

²²City Council, Minutes, September 2, 1867.

²³Leader, November 2, 5, 1867; January 2, 1868.

court.²⁴ But improvisation could not compensate for the fact that these early courts had no real legal basis. The Leader called upon the Dakota legislature to grant legal courts so that "men asserting or defending a legal right will not be troubled with doubts and darkness, as to whether they are in or out of court."²⁵

The presence of a federal legal official, the United States Commissioner, J. P. Bartlett, provided the only legally constituted court in Cheyenne. But Bartlett was surprisingly ineffective, probably because he failed to cooperate with local leaders. In fact, he undermined the authority of the provisional courts. While he assured City Council of his willingness to aid in enforcing city ordinances, he frequently overruled decisions of the provisional courts in a manner seemingly calculated to throw doubt on the validity of these courts' actions.²⁶

Underlying every action of the government, therefore, was the knowledge that it had no legal basis. Nor was there any provision for the city to be represented at the forthcoming legislature at Yankton which alone could grant a legal charter to the city. The county organization whereby the region was to have one representative in the

²⁴ Leader, November 16, 1867.

²⁵ December 10, 1867.

²⁶ Leader, September 24, December 24, 1867. City Council, Minutes, October 2, 1867.

Dakota legislature had disintegrated. Cheyenne's residents, therefore, decided to reorganize the defunct county of Laramie. Led by Whitehead and Hook, a citizen's meeting approved the appointment of three commissioners to supervise an election for county officials on October 8. The result was the formation of a provisional county organization with the county seat at Cheyenne, and the election of Whitehead as the county's representative to Yankton.²⁷

The legislature, which convened early in December of 1867, granted Cheyenne a charter and reorganized Laramie County with Cheyenne as the county seat.²⁸ Unfortunately for the city, however, the legislators who drew up these bills had little or no information about the city's needs except for two memorials from Cheyenne residents demanding a city charter and county organization.²⁹ Whitehead, detained for personal business reasons, arrived in Yankton only when the session was almost completed and the bills involving Cheyenne and Laramie County had already been passed. Whitehead and the Cheyenne press later charged that the legislature had acted arbitrarily in Cheyenne's

²⁷ Leader, September 28, October 10, 12, 1867.

²⁸ The original Laramie County was divided into Carter and Laramie Counties. Dakota Territory, Session Laws of the Seventh Legislative Assembly, 1867-1868 (Yankton, 1868), pp. 123-31.

²⁹ George W. Kingsbury, History of Dakota Territory, I (Chicago, 1915), 483. Dakota, Session Laws . . . 1867-1868, pp. 123-24. Leader, December 31, 1867.

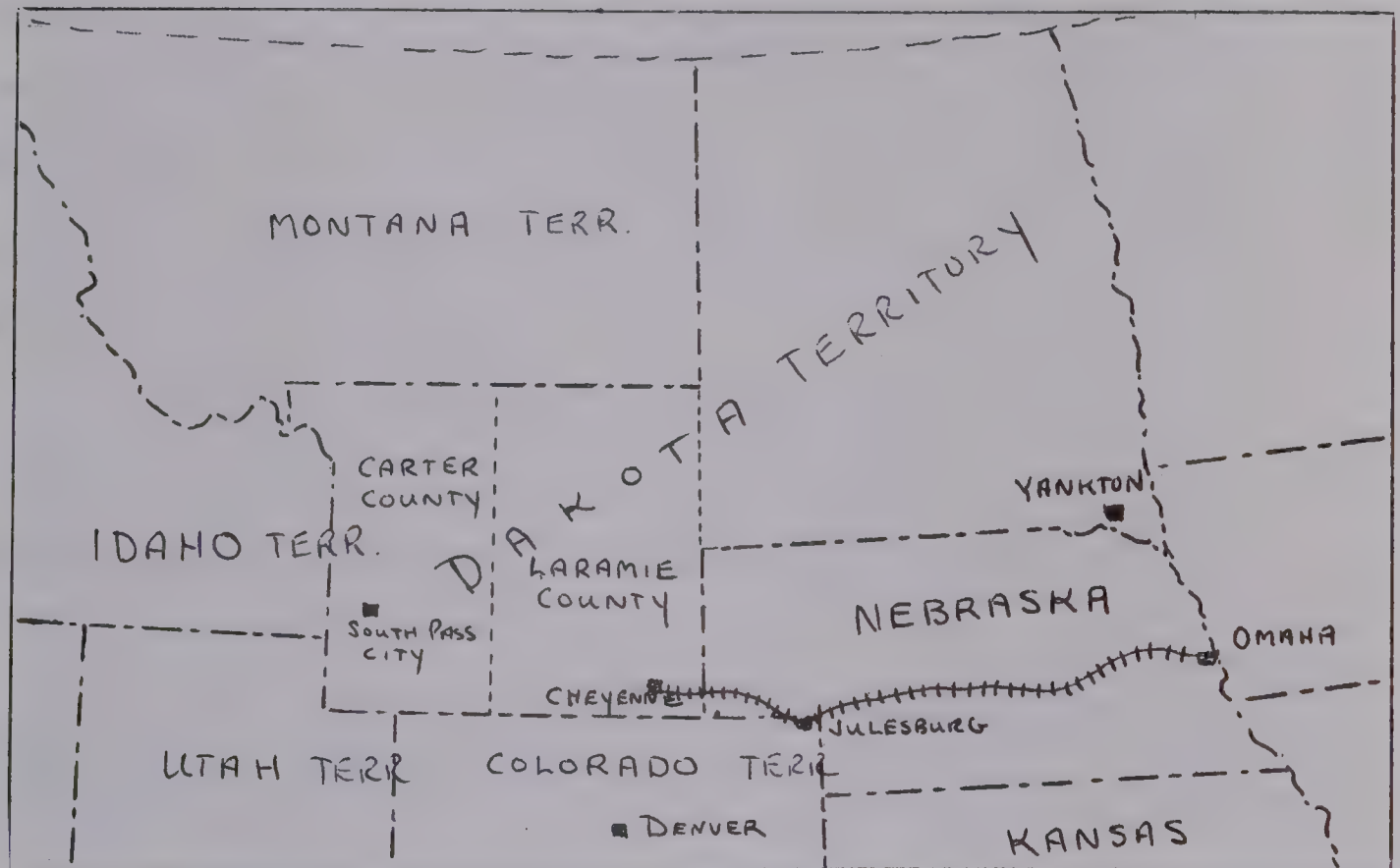


Fig. 5.--Political Divisions, January, 1868.

case, but there is little evidence to support these charges.³⁰ Dakota's officials had no desire to impose their will on an area which they realized would soon be organized as a separate Territory.³¹ It is hardly surprising, however, that the legislature appeared indifferent to the needs of the city. Whitehead's failure to be present to assure an adequate charter must have indicated a remarkable lack of interest on the part of Cheyenne.³²

Incomplete information about the actions of the legislature in Yankton greatly damaged the authority of the provisional government during the last two months of its

30

Whitehead to the Editor, Leader, February 1, 1868. Kuykendall, Frontier Days . . ., p. 119. Yankton Dakotaian, quoted by Leader, February 19, 1868. Kingsbury, History . . ., I, 483-84.

31

Dakota Territory, Second Annual Message of Governor A. J. Faulk to the Seventh Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Dakota (Yankton, 1868), p. 9.

32

The entire question of Cheyenne's representation was complicated by the fact that the reorganization of Laramie County under Cheyenne's sponsorship was contested by other residents in the western part of the original Laramie County. The Sweetwater gold rush had given rise to several small mining towns; their residents refused to accept Cheyenne's leadership and wished their own county organization which they called Carter County. A. G. "Archy" Turner was chosen as their representative to Yankton. As the Dakota legislature had made provision for only one representative from the entire area, both Whitehead and Turner claimed to be the legal representative. Turner was eventually chosen because he lobbied throughout the session, while Whitehead, whose name had originally been included in the list of representatives, was unseated primarily because of his late arrival. The nature of Cheyenne's charter was influenced by this manoeuvring. Leader, December 14, 1867. Kingsbury, History . . ., I, 483-84. T. A. Larson, History of Wyoming (Lincoln, 1965), p. 51.

life. While the Leader reprinted articles from the Yankton Dakotain which stated that a city charter had been passed, no one in Cheyenne knew the provisions of the charter, except that the existing provisional government would probably not be legalized.³³ This uncertainty was partly to blame for the weakness of the provisional city government in December and January, and it was during this chaotic period that the public took the law into its own hands by means of a vigilante committee.

Several aspects of the new charter caused the future city governments difficulties. While the charter called for an election to replace the provisional government, it left unanswered the question of the provisional government's ordinances. Were they now all superseded? Were the debts incurred by the provisional government to be assumed by the new government? Although the charter made no mention of the previous administration's acts, the new council, elected on January 23, eventually decided to respect certain acts and debts of the provisional government on the grounds that the original government had performed a necessary task in stabilizing society until the coming of a legally constituted government.³⁴

³³The difficulties of communicating between Yankton and Cheyenne were a factor, but Whitehead appears to have been extremely lax in informing the city of developments in Yankton.

³⁴City Council, Minutes, January 30, 1868. Leader, September 28, 1867; February 3, 10, 1868.

A more basic problem raised by the new charter threatened the very existence of a city government. The charter was very indefinite about council's power of licensing, and some residents took advantage of this by refusing to pay licence fees for their places of business. Surprisingly enough, the major test case was brought on by A. C. Beckwith, who had been one of the earliest residents to see the need for a stable government. Beckwith was defended by W. W. Corlett on the grounds that only those businesses expressly named in the charter could be taxed. Beckwith was fined \$20 in magistrate's court, but refused to pay. He appealed his case to the district court where the judge upheld his claim and ruled that the city charter authorized the council to license only specifically named occupations or businesses.³⁵

The Leader immediately warned businessmen of the city that if they took advantage of this decision, the city would lose its major source of revenue and would quickly be bankrupt. The result would probably be the return of military rule from Fort Russell.³⁶ Some businessmen agreed with the views of Dr. Hiram Latham, the

³⁵ Leader, March 17, 22, 1868. The loophole consisted of a vagueness in section 17 of the city charter in which most businesses and occupations were supposedly covered by the phrase, "The city council shall also have the power to license the sale of all goods, wares and merchandise" "Cheyenne City Charter," in Leader, January 17, 1868.

³⁶ March 24, 1868,

Union Pacific surgeon resident in Cheyenne, who sent the city government the money for his surgeon's licence, although he realized the Beckwith case made it doubtful that he was required to do so. Others took advantage of the situation with the result that the city went almost \$10,000 into debt during the first year this charter was in effect.³⁷

In spite of the difficulties of putting the new city charter into operation, a new element of stability was introduced into civic affairs with the election of a legally constituted government on January 23, 1868. The residents showed considerable interest in this election; 938 persons voted, but evidently many who wished to vote were unable to do so because of the crowds around the inadequate number of polling places. Although the Democratic party hailed the results as a party victory, party lines were not clearly drawn and the election centered on personalities.³⁸ Unlike the provisional government which had been composed primarily of frontiersmen in the freight-ing business, the new City Council was urban in experience and commercial in outlook. Luke Murrin, elected mayor, had served on municipal councils in Cincinnati and Chattanooga. He represented the firm of Gilbert, Adams and

³⁷ Latham to Editor, Leader, April 2, 1868. A new charter from the first legislature of Wyoming Territory in December 1869 remedied the situation by closing the loopholes. Leader, December 22, 23, 1869. Larson, History of Wyoming, p. 50.

³⁸ Leader, January 24, 25, 1868.

Company, the major liquor and tobacco dealer in the city. Of the six aldermen elected, three were merchants, one operated a restaurant, another a hotel, and one practised medicine.³⁹ Cheyenne was like earlier frontier cities such as St. Louis and Pittsburgh, where "city council lists" had read "like the local business directory,"⁴⁰ with the commercial element quickly taking over the leadership of municipal government. On Murrin's recommendation, a Board of Trade was quickly organized to publicize the city's potential in hopes of attracting both immigration and capital.

The largest single function of both the original provisional government and the legally constituted government of Murrin was the maintenance of law and order. The provisional government had accepted the responsibility of law enforcement immediately upon organization in August, 1867. The inexperienced administration recognized the magnitude of the task before them. In thanking General Stevenson and his officers "for the very efficient Police Measures they have inaugurated and maintained in our Embryo City," city authorities asked for continued military support, "should we ever be so unfortunate as to be unable from any cause whatsoever to maintain law and order in our community."⁴¹

³⁹Leader, January 21, February 17, 1868.

⁴⁰Wade, The Urban Frontier . . ., p. 78.

⁴¹City Council, Minutes, August 8, 1867.

The law enforcement officers under the jurisdiction of this original city government were a city marshal, a constable, and two policemen.⁴² This force was supported, in addition to the army at Fort Russell, by a United States deputy marshal and by the county sheriff. About forty per cent or \$9,000 of this government's budget was spent on law enforcement, divided between salaries and building and maintaining a jail.⁴³ In fact, the jail house, built by contract for \$1,606, was the first civic building erected. Twenty feet square, with walls of six-inch-thick timbers, this jail house was a magnificent structure compared to the temporary jail, merely a tent with prisoners secured by irons. But even the new jail was far from adequate and prisoners frequently escaped. As a result, judicial officials were forced to rely upon fines rather than imprisonment for punishment. As money was plentiful, however, fines were easily paid and offenders often returned to their former practices. Persons accused of a major crime such as murder were not held in the city jail, but were turned over to the authorities at Fort Russell for safekeeping until the courts having jurisdiction in such cases could act.⁴⁴

⁴²City Council, Minutes, August 15, 1867.

⁴³Leader, February 17, 1868.

⁴⁴City Council, Minutes, August 20, 21, October 2, 1867. Leader, September 26, 1867; February 19, 1868. W.W. Corlett, "The Founding of Cheyenne," Cheyenne 1885 (Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley), p. 7.

Law enforcement became a major problem by late September and October as the population began to mushroom because of the exodus from Julesburg. One observer described the trend toward lawlessness as the beginning of a "season of unparalleled liberty and license never equalled in any other American community since the country was settled."⁴⁵ The city police force could not cope with major riots or disturbances and soon found it necessary to call on the army for help. This inability was not a unique characteristic of the provisional government, however, but rather a typical weakness of most American cities in the nineteenth century, including the established eastern centers.⁴⁶

In addition to many of the problems faced by authorities in the East, Cheyenne was subject to constant violence because of the common frontier custom of carrying knives or guns.⁴⁷ Originally, the provisional government merely forbade the use of firearms within the city limits, but by the end of September, they banned the carrying of any dangerous weapons; newcomers were given thirty minutes to comply with the ordinance.⁴⁸ The Leader reported, however, a general

⁴⁵Robert L. Fulton, Epic of the Overland (San Francisco, 1924), p. 66.

⁴⁶Wade, The Urban Frontier . . ., p. 89. McKelvey, The Urbanization of America . . ., p. 93.

⁴⁷Slaughter, "Life in Colorado and Wyoming," p. 1. Leader, September 28, 1867.

⁴⁸City Council, Minutes, August 19, September 30, 1867.

"contempt of the ordinance."⁴⁹ City Council, forced to compromise with accepted custom, made its ordinance more lenient. It became illegal to carry a dangerous weapon while intoxicated; weapons were not to be carried into hotels, stores, restaurants, saloons, gambling houses, and other public buildings.⁵⁰ But the police found it impossible to enforce this ordinance. As crimes of violence began to reach disturbing proportions, Baker of the Leader lost patience with the police:

We are told that we must not carry arms. We advise our citizens to apply the law of self protection in this case, and not only carry, but effectually use, a true revolver upon all such chaps as presume to molest those having occasion to pass through the streets at night.⁵¹

Intervention by the army was first required in early October, 1867, during the Mullally affair. Pat Mullally, a saloonkeeper, had his saloon licence revoked by City Council because his establishment was "disorderly and ill governed."⁵² He appealed council's ruling and won his case, but a feud between two factions of the city's "rough element" came to the surface during the trial, as several prostitutes, hostile to Mullally, testified against him. Mullally and a friend, known only as "Limber Jim," later

⁴⁹October 5, 1867.

⁵⁰City Council, Minutes, November 29, 1867.

⁵¹December 21, 1867.

⁵²City Council, Minutes, October 3, 1867.

tried to force their way into one of the houses of the hostile prostitutes. Both were killed by shotgun blasts. Mulally's friends quickly gathered and "gave out word that the town would be burned before morning."⁵³ With the community in a "feverish condition,"⁵⁴ Mayor Hook realized that the situation had become too dangerous to be handled by the city police. He hastily sent a plea to Fort Russell for aid; troops quickly arrived and dispersed the gathering mob.⁵⁵

The army was also called upon in late October to protect the property of the Union Pacific. A party of squatters, reportedly from Julesburg, seized a number of railroad town lots and began to build on them. Unable to maintain order, city officials appealed to the military authorities. General Stevenson, apparently supported by a portion of the population, summarily evicted the squatters.⁵⁶

With the virtual collapse of the provisional government in January, 1868, the presence of a company of troops was required to keep the peace during the election for the first legal government. On the eve of the election, the Rocky Mountain Star published a list of ten names together with the suggestion that those named leave town within

⁵³Rocky Mountain News (Denver), October 3, 1867.

⁵⁴Corlett, "The Founding of Cheyenne," p. 12

⁵⁵Kuykendall, Frontier Days . . ., pp. 117-18.

⁵⁶See Chap. I, pp. 31-32.

twenty-four hours.⁵⁷ The unstable conditions in the city were accentuated by such threats, although this intimidation apparently had no connection with the election. Even the army was unable to prevent violence completely, for "some shooting and fighting" was reported during the election.⁵⁸

Although the army was called upon in emergencies, the provisional government had tried to solve its own problems whenever possible. To supplement the regular police force, city authorities had organized a special force in September, 1867. Over fifty volunteers made up this force, headed by J. P. Ward.⁵⁹ Notices such as the following were published in the press:

Special Police--The Captains of the several squads of Special Police will notify their men to hold themselves in readiness, with arms, to respond to the regular signal when given. . . . If any member shall at any time hear any threats against the life of any of the City Police, or any citizen of this town, or against their property, he will report the same to headquarters.

Chief of S. P.⁶⁰

But this special force was transformed into a secret vigilance committee in early January as support grew

⁵⁷ January 22, 1868. Leader, January 22, 1868.

⁵⁸ Leader, January 23, 1868. N. S. Thomas (ed.), Diary and Letters of the Reverend Joseph W. Cook, Missionary to Cheyenne (Laramie, 1919), p. 20.

⁵⁹ City Council, Minutes, September 30, October 6, 1867.

⁶⁰ Leader, December 23, 1867.

for the use of more extreme measures to deal with increasing robbery and violence. According to William Kuykendall, the transition took place at a meeting of the special police in City Hall, "after a few of us who declined to quit the special police for that purpose, had retired from the room by request and with the good will of those with whom we had served."⁶¹ The conversion into a secret organization, although not officially condoned, took place with the full knowledge of the city authorities. The original justification for the organization of this vigilance committee was a more effective support of the regularly constituted officials. The abnormally transient character of the population, a condition considered only temporary, made it impossible for the police force to properly maintain order, particularly as the government which hired the police had no legal standing.

Support for the use of vigilante methods was evidently widespread, even among the city authorities, for one contemporary reported that the new committee was made up "largely [of] the same people who had organized the provisional government."⁶² Others maintained that "nearly all young and middle aged men in favour of good order were members,"⁶³ and that it included "the best citizens."⁶⁴

⁶¹Kuykendall, Frontier Days . . ., p. 118.

⁶²Corlett, "The Founding of Cheyenne," p. 7.

⁶³Slaughter, "Life in Colorado and Wyoming," p. 1.

⁶⁴E. B. Tuttle, Six Months on the Plains; or, The

While the vigilantes supposedly were organized to support law and order, their first action indicates an unwillingness to recognize the normal channels of justice such as the federal court in Cheyenne. Like the San Francisco committees of 1851 and 1856, Cheyenne's vigilantes set out to do what the slow and apparently unsure methods of the federal court could not "be counted on to do."⁶⁵ The deputy United States marshal had arrested three men for the theft of \$900 on January 10. As United States Commissioner J. P. Bartlett's court was busy, the case was set over until January 14 and the men released on \$4,500 bail. That night they went on a drinking spree. But next morning, at daylight, the three were found on Eddy Street, tied together and walking abreast. A huge canvas sign tied to them read:

\$900 Stole / Thieves / 500 Recovered
 F. St. Clair E. De Bronville
 W. Grier
 City authorities please not interfere
 until 10 o'clock, A.M.
 Next case goes up a tree
 Beware of the Vigilance Committee⁶⁶

N. A. Baker of the Leader was not convinced that a vigilance committee, reported to have 200 members, was necessary, especially if it would continue to oppose the

Travellers Guide to Cheyenne and the Rocky Mountains
 (Chicago, 1868), p. 9.

⁶⁵ John W. Caughey, Their Majesties the Mob (Chicago, 1960), p. 8.

⁶⁶ Leader, January 11, 1868. Willard Glazier, Peculiarities of American Cities (Philadelphia, 1886), p. 177.

regularly constituted authority of the federal officials.⁶⁷

But several days later, after two nights of fighting and shooting at the "New Idea" Saloon, Baker finally wrote in exasperation that only two remedies remained: either the regular police force would have to be substantially increased, for "at present, it seems our civil authorities are powerless to accomplish any good," or else a vigilance committee would have to be allowed complete freedom, for "it is time someone was doing a little hanging here."⁶⁸

That night, January 17, the committee made its first public appearance when 200 masked men marched through the streets. Wearing soldiers' overcoats and gunnysacks with holes cut out for the eyes over their heads, the group was reported to be a terrifying sight. Those involved in the previous nights' disturbances wisely left town.⁶⁹

Emboldened by the reaction to its first appearance, the committee carried out its first execution the following night. Rather than acting in the absence of courts, the committee defied and reversed a regular court's decision. City authorities had offered \$300 for "Shorty" Burns, dead or alive, who was said to have killed two companions and

⁶⁷ Leader, January 13, 1868.

⁶⁸ Leader, January 17, 1868.

⁶⁹ Leader, January 18, 1868. ([C. G. Coutant], "History of Wyoming Written by C. G. Coutant, Pioneer Historian and Heretofore Unpublished," Annals of Wyoming, XIII (April, 1941), 146.

wounded another in November, 1867. Burns was captured at Fort Laramie and returned to Cheyenne for trial, but was acquitted because of lack of evidence. The vigilance committee disagreed with the court's decision and dispensed its own swift justice by hanging Burns to a telegraph pole about seven miles west of Cheyenne.⁷⁰

Two nights after the hanging of Burns, the committee struck again. The unruly group that had fled town several days earlier again caused a disturbance and at one point emptied their guns into Tim Dyer's saloon. About 100 vigilantes quickly gathered, and those responsible for the uproar fled to Dale City, a new town beyond the end of track, about thirty miles west of Cheyenne. The committee considered this area within their jurisdiction, for they followed and caught five of the recalcitrants there. Three were hanged--O'Keefe, Dillon, and Hays. Two others were freed, one because of his age and the other because of his youth, but only after each had received several jerks with a rope around his neck to teach him a lesson.⁷¹ While the vigilantes summarily disposed of four alleged ruffians in three days, the committee considered its primary function that of ridding the community of large numbers of undesirables by

⁷⁰Leader, January 7, 20, 1868; September 14, 1882. City Council, Minutes, November 19, 1867; January 18, 1868.

⁷¹Leader, January 21, 1868; September 18, 1883. Corlett, "The Founding of Cheyenne," pp. 9-10. Kuykendall, Frontier Days . . ., pp. 120-21. Hubert H. Bancroft, Popular Tribunals, I (San Francisco, 1887), 714.

means of threats in the Rocky Mountain Star:

We think this public notification the best method: No person will be notified to leave this territory except through a public newspaper of this place, and if said notified parties will not leave within twenty-four hours, the Committee will no longer be responsible for their safety. George Brown, Neil Murphy, Cocke, at New Ideas, Jack Bristol, Thomas Campbell, Eugene Debonville, Frank St. Clair, Al Cunningham, Slippery Bill, and Dave Mullens: The above will leave this territory in twenty-four hours.
By order of the VIGILANCE COMMITTEE⁷²

The committee had earlier placarded and paraded as thieves two of those mentioned above, St. Clair and Debonville. These threats were remarkably effective in convincing "many of those of the worst classes" to leave town with the result that other frontier cities such as Denver were faced with a sudden influx of these former residents of Cheyenne.⁷³

With the coming of a legally constituted government, the vigilance committee no longer had semi-official sanction from the city officials. Col. Luke Murrin, who headed the new government as mayor, declared himself "hostile to the existence" of the committee and promised that "means would be taken to suppress them if they did not disperse."⁷⁴ The new council quickly passed an ordinance forbidding this "unlawful Combination of individuals" which "had for sometime

⁷² January 22, 1868. Leader, January 22, 1868.

⁷³ D. J. Cook, Hands Up; or Twenty Years of Detective Life in the Mountains and on the Plains (Norman, [1882] 1958), pp. 39-40.

⁷⁴ Leader, January 24, 1868.

past infested this City to the terror of all good Citizens and to the injury of the reputation of Our City abroad."⁷⁵

The ordinance was unnecessary, according to the Leader.

The committee had disbanded because its members believed the new city government would be able to maintain order.⁷⁶

Under Murrin's energetic direction, City Council passed an ordinance making the mayor head of the Police Department with all the necessary powers to appoint extra police in cases of emergency. The regular police force was enlarged to twelve men and a special policeman, hired by several businessmen to protect their property, was also given the authority to make arrests.⁷⁷

In spite of council's determination to suppress extra-legal methods of justice, the vigilantes reappeared in March, again defying the decision of a regular court. Charles Martin was charged with shooting his partner in a quarrel. After a four-day trial in district court, in which the prosecution appeared to present conclusive evidence of guilt through fourteen witnesses, the jury found Martin not guilty.⁷⁸ Many residents disliked the verdict

⁷⁵ City Council, Minutes, February 4, 6, 1868.

⁷⁶ February 8, 1868.

⁷⁷ City Council, Minutes, February 6, 1868. Leader, February 6, 10, 1868.

⁷⁸ Laramie County, District Court, Criminal Appearance Dockets, March 10, 1868 (Wyoming State Archives and Historical Department, Cheyenne).

and charged that the jury had been packed.⁷⁹ Rather than quietly resuming the proprietorship of his Beauvais Hall Saloon, Martin further angered the court's critics by publicly threatening several people including the prosecuting attorney. He then began noisily to celebrate his freedom in the company of two prostitutes. That night a band of masked men interrupted his revels, dragged him to the east side of the city, and unceremoniously hanged him from an improvised gallows, a tripod of poles. The execution of Martin was followed by a much more questionable act. Perhaps emboldened by their achievement inside the city, the vigilantes proceeded next to hang James Morgan in another part of the city. Probably there was no connection between the two men. Morgan was supposedly a horse thief but many later debated his guilt.⁸⁰ If innocent, he was merely one of many on the frontier who were victims of the miscarriage of justice by vigilante methods.⁸¹

A visiting journalist commented on the excitement:

These midnight doings have created, naturally, great excitement in the city--an excitement "not loud but deep." People are collected in little groups all through the street, and talk with bated breath of the hangings.⁸²

⁷⁹Corlett, "The Founding of Cheyenne," p. 8.

⁸⁰Leader, March 21, 1868. [Coutant], Annals of Wyoming, XIII, 147-48. Lola M. Homsher (ed.), South Pass, 1868: James Chisholm's Journal of the Wyoming Gold Rush (Lincoln, 1960), pp. 18-20.

⁸¹Caughey, Their Majesties the Mob, p. 15.

⁸²Homsher, South Pass . . ., p. 22.

Murrin called on the order-loving and law-abiding citizens to help put down the vigilantes,⁸³ but the habit of direct extra-legal action was not easily broken. Two weeks later violence erupted again with the senseless killing of Theodore Landgraeber, a recent German immigrant who operated a brewery on Crow Creek. While some of the vigilantes' previous acts conceivably could be considered justifiable, this case represented a sheer act of personal vengeance carried out behind the anonymity of the vigilante's mask. A group of masked men had gone to Landgraeber's house to demand the payment of a debt. Heated words were being exchanged when, in the presence of the brewer's wife and children, a member of the group shot him. The town was incensed at the cold-blooded murder of a respected citizen. Murrin immediately called a large public protest meeting and proclaimed that no stone would be left unturned to get these "midnight assassins, known as vigilantes," brought to justice. On behalf of the city, he offered a \$2,000 reward for information leading to the conviction of the men who were responsible.⁸⁴ One of the men arrested was J. P. Ward, who had been chief of the special police, but he and others were acquitted by Judge William Kuykendall.⁸⁵

⁸³Leader, March 23, 1868. Sweetwater Mines (South Pass City), April 4, 1868.

⁸⁴Corlett, "The Founding of Cheyenne," pp. 12-13. Leader, April 6, 1868.

⁸⁵Leader, April 10, 1868.

The reaction to the event, however, led to a general disillusionment with extra-legal methods of dealing with crime. The community now "pretty well believed that the Vigilantes had outlived its usefulness and it was used by bad men merely to collect debts or to carry out schemes of vengeance or resentment. When that feeling once got established . . . the committee . . . lost its influence and ceased to exist."⁸⁶ In addition to the general pressure against the further use of these methods, a good deal of the justification for the existence of a vigilance committee disappeared by the summer of 1868. The transient element of the population, "the flotsam and jetsam of humanity," as one observer described them, moved west to Laramie City, Benton, and other new territorial towns as railroad construction proceeded westward.⁸⁷

In total, the extra-legal vigilante methods resulted in the execution of seven men during the hectic winter of 1867-1868. Sensational accounts of the events, however, greatly distorted the actual nature of the situation. Eastern visitors were told fantastic stories about the number of people hanged by the vigilantes.⁸⁸ One old-timer recalled:

⁸⁶Corlett, "The Founding of Cheyenne," p. 13.

⁸⁷Kuykendall, Frontier Days . . ., pp. 124, 129. Slaughter, "Life in Colorado and Wyoming." Corlett, "The Founding of Cheyenne," p. 14.

⁸⁸See especially J. H. Beadle, The Undeveloped West, or Five Years in the Territories (Philadelphia, 1873), p. 85.

"There was hardly a day, thr' the hottest times, but a man would be hanged to [a] lamp post There were frequent hangings in broad daylight in the principal streets."⁸⁹

Almost every contemporary observer believed that the use of vigilante methods in the west was justified.⁹⁰ Historians have also tended to be pro-vigilante.⁹¹ But a closer analysis of these methods in Cheyenne casts doubt over assertions that "Vigilantes have served a great need on the frontier in stamping out lawlessness with swift justice, and so have held down desperate situations until the coming of proper legal procedure."⁹² Vigilante activity in Cheyenne did not fill a vacuum but arose in defiance of regular courts and regular American forms of justice. Regular methods of investigation were by-passed and torture was

⁸⁹Charles Boettcher, "Flush Times of Colorado," Leadville, 1884 (Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley), p. 1.

⁹⁰For some examples of laudatory accounts, see: Slaughter, "Life in Colorado and Wyoming." Corlett, "The Founding of Cheyenne." Tuttle, Six Months on the Plains . . ., p. 9. Saltiel and Barnett, History and Business Directory . . ., p. 23. Kuykendall, Frontier Days . . ., pp. 117-22. [Coutant], Annals of Wyoming, XIII, 146. Luke Voorhees, Personal Recollections of Pioneer Life (Philadelphia, 1927), pp. 14-15. Robert B. David, Malcolm Campbell, Sheriff (Casper, 1932), pp. 18-20.

⁹¹Bancroft, Popular Tribunals. Nathaniel Pitt Langford, Vigilante Days and Ways (2 vols.; Boston, 1890). Wayne Gard, Frontier Justice (Norman, 1949). For a more detailed discussion of the general acceptance of these extra-legal methods by both contemporaries and historians, see Caughey, Their Majesties the Mob, pp. 19-23.

⁹²David, Malcolm Campbell, Sheriff, p. 18.

occasionally used to gain information, such as the "strangling of a poor, demented, half-idiotic woman, nearly to death," to compel her to disclose the whereabouts of her husband.⁹³ Trials of those charged were usually dispensed with entirely and, even where some formality was observed, "very little proof of guilt was necessary, the trial sometimes not lasting more than ten minutes, the supposition being that a man was guilty unless he could prove himself innocent."⁹⁴ Several innocent men were executed as a result. Certainly the hanging of Morgan and the shooting of Landgraeber were violations of justice. The vigilantes executed three men--O'Keefe, Dillon, and Hays--for allegedly disturbing the peace when a regular court certainly would have imposed a lesser sentence. Only Martin and Burns, who may have been guilty of murder, conceivably deserved capital punishment, but even in these cases the vigilantes acted in open defiance of the regular courts' decisions, thereby weakening, not strengthening, the attempts to establish law and order. The total record of vigilante justice in Cheyenne is, therefore, somewhat less than admirable.

The question remains, however, why did so large a portion of the community either support or acquiesce in such methods? The most obvious reason in Cheyenne as elsewhere

⁹³Leader, January 13, 1868.

⁹⁴ Charles Alston Messiter, Sport and Adventure Among the North-American Indians (London, 1890), p. 257.

on the frontier was the necessity of controlling the type of transients found in most border areas. As one visiting newspaperman expressed it: "Perhaps the present condition of society in Cheyenne, and the difficulty of applying legitimate remedies, may offer some palliation for the commission of such acts."⁹⁵ The "perfect reign of terror" initiated by the vigilantes probably did frighten some thieves and "roughs" into relatively orderly behaviour or leaving for more congenial surroundings. Another reason for the use of vigilante methods, however, stems from the general character of American society during the nineteenth century. Cheyenne's residents, like most Americans of their generation, were primarily concerned with economic gain and only occasionally with building a stable community. The law-abiding majority neglected to give complete and unqualified support to the legally constituted authorities and the police force. When some particular outrage aroused the entire community, then swift, extra-legal action was taken before the inevitable retreat into individual concerns.⁹⁶

While crimes of violence were a major barrier to the establishment of law and order, gambling and prostitution also presented constant difficulties to civic authorities.

⁹⁵ Homsher, South Pass. . ., p. 17.

⁹⁶ For examples of similar situations in other frontier communities, see: Rodman Paul, Mining Frontiers of the Far West, 1868-1880 (New York, 1963), pp. 162-68; Paul Sharp, Whoop-Up Country, The Canadian-American West, 1865-1885, (Minneapolis, 1955), pp. 167-68.

Although "an occasional tilt takes place between the city authorites and sports," gamblers openly defied the provisional government's ordinance forbidding gambling of any kind.⁹⁷ The fines of \$20 and costs did little to deter what was described as "one of the most important branches of business carried on in this town."⁹⁸ Games of keno, faro, rondo, and monte were openly played:

In one monster gambling house, situated in the central part of town, may be found twenty gaming and six billiard tables, all in full blast. Hundreds do nightly congregate herein, attracted by strains of heavenly music. There fortunes are lost. There the wages of hundreds of workmen are cast in, to swell the princely income of the owner.⁹⁹

Because of this intense gambling activity, many early residents agreed with the observer who maintained that Cheyenne was "the greatest nest for gambling ever opened on the frontier."¹⁰⁰ Murrin's administration, which also had an ordinance forbidding gambling of any kind, made sporadic efforts to regulate the gamblers by fines of \$15 to \$75.¹⁰¹ But without strong support from the general

⁹⁷ Omaha Weekly Herald, December 16, 1867. City Council, Minutes, August 8, 1867.

⁹⁸ Omaha Weekly Herald, December 26, 1867. Leader, October 22, 1867. City Council, Minutes, November 29, 1867.

⁹⁹ Omaha Weekly Herald, December 26, 1867.

¹⁰⁰ Fulton, Epic of the Overland, p. 68. Thomas, Diary and Letters of the Rev. J. W. Cook . . ., p. 12.

¹⁰¹ District Court, Criminal Appearance Dockets, March 27, 1868. Leader, February 26, 1868.

public, city authorities were powerless. As in most American cities, gambling houses prospered as long as willing victims with money to risk were available.¹⁰²

Cheyenne could not boast the number of brothels of some eastern cities (Philadelphia had 517 in 1880), but the Leader admitted that "if there ever was a city on the face of this sinful sphere, that is well supplied with bawdy houses, that village is ours."¹⁰³ Cheyenne's ordinances forbade brothels and dancehalls where prostitutes contacted customers, but like many other cities, a semi-formal licence system quickly evolved by which courts occasionally "levied an assessment of five dollars and costs on each of forty women of the town."¹⁰⁴ As in New Orleans, authorities attempted to keep brothels within a certain red-light district away from the business part of town.¹⁰⁵ Occasional criticism and attempted suppression of these houses during this early period was usually not on moral but commercial grounds. These houses might injure the city's reputation and discourage respectable tourists and immigration.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰² McKelvey, The Urbanization of America . . ., p. 94

¹⁰³ January 10, 1868.

¹⁰⁴ Leader, September 10, 1868.

¹⁰⁵ McKelvey, The Urbanization of America . . ., p. 94

¹⁰⁶ Leader, February 15, March 2, 1868. City Council, Minutes, March 26, 1868.

Nevertheless, Cheyenne became symbolic of western wickedness. The historian Hubert Howe Bancroft maintained that "it was never disputed that this town exceeded in vice and unwholesome excitement any of the new cities of the west."¹⁰⁷ There is no doubt that the lack of many of the customary social restraints in the frontier-West often allowed liberty to become license. As one old-timer put it, "many a virtuous Polar Bear raises hell on the equator."¹⁰⁸

But there was also a great deal of truth in a Laramie City editor's assertion that Westerners were "open and above board in all their dissipations, while eastern people kept all their dissipations behind the curtain."¹⁰⁹ Compared with other young western communities, it is unlikely that Cheyenne was particularly lawless; most communities were described as "the wickedest little city in America," at one time or another.¹¹⁰ It must also be remembered that

¹⁰⁷ H. H. Bancroft, History of Nevada, Colorado, and Wyoming, Vol. XXV of Bancroft's Works (San Francisco, 1890), p. 746.

¹⁰⁸ Quoted by Mark H. Brown and W. R. Felton, The Frontier Years: L. A. Huffman, Photographer of the Plains (New York, 1955), p. 143.

¹⁰⁹ Frontier Index, June 9, 1868.

¹¹⁰ This is the sub-title of Stanley Vestal's book, Dodge City, Queen of Cownowns. Comparing cities in this regard is difficult because of the nature of the literature on other communities. An example of even a sober historian like Oscar Winther will suffice. In an article on Los Angeles ("The Rise of Metropolitan Los Angeles, 1870-1910," Huntington Library Quarterly, X [August, 1940], 391-405), he makes the statement that in 1870 that community "was

some elements in many communities were determined to regulate the worst abuses of lawlessness. The Leader's claim that "Cheyenne is now and has been as orderly as an old-fashioned town" indicates not only a wish to present a respectable front to the outside world, but also an almost desperate desire to achieve the stability and order which the West associated with the East.¹¹¹

Civic authorities spent most of their time and energy on law enforcement. They also took hesitant steps toward providing some of the other services traditionally the responsibility of municipal government. Finding an adequate source of water proved to be an especially vexing problem. At first, water was hauled in barrels and cans from Crow Creek but this was hardly sufficient even for drinking and washing. In order to supply water for protection against fires, the provisional government had three or four public wells dug. These were far from successful and the Leader complained that there was not a "public well in the city that a cayuse could not drink dry at a single setting."¹¹² The city's problems in this

probably then the toughest town in the West." (*Italics mine*, p. 392). In his conclusion, without any further mention of the subject, he makes the unqualified statement that Los Angeles "had been the toughest little town in the West." (*Italics mine*, p. 405.)

¹¹¹Leader, January 31, 1868. Lynn Perrigo, "Law and Order in Early Colorado Mining Camps," MVHR, XXVIII (June, 1941), 41-62.

¹¹²September 28, 1867; also February 1, 1868.

respect were typical of most cities in the semi-arid West. Trees and gardens were an impossibility without an extensive system of irrigation and, consequently, most communities were bleak and unattractive. Even Denver, which made more progress in improving its appearance than most western towns, was described thirteen years after its founding in words that well could have been used to describe Cheyenne: "Brown and treeless, upon a dry and treeless plain."¹¹³

Baker of the Leader and others repeatedly called for City Council to at least divert some of Crow Creek's water through the city by means of a ditch system. Baker and several aldermen finally visited General Stevenson at Fort Russell in February, 1868, to enlist his aid. They were informed that he and General Dodge had already decided to bring the water of Lodgepole and Crow Creeks by canal through the military reservation and then through the town-site. City Council was advised to wait until the water was brought to the city.¹¹⁴ But by the end of October there was still no sign of the ditch which was to have carried "an inexhaustible supply of water."¹¹⁵ City Council was forced to improve the public wells to insure at least a supply of drinking water. Like Denver, which waited for

¹¹³ Isabella Bird, A Lady's Life in the Rocky Mountains (Norman, [1879] 1960), p. 137.

¹¹⁴ Leader, February 19, 1868. S. H. Winsor to the Editor, Leader, June 23, 1868.

¹¹⁵ Leader, October 28, 1868.

ten years before installing an adequate water system. Cheyenne moved slowly during the next few years in constructing even a primitive system.¹¹⁶ Environmental factors certainly aggravated the situation; any system would be costly as the water would have to be brought from a great distance. A small city could not easily afford this expense, and, in addition, public concern was surprisingly small.

The greatest hazard to property in the frontier-West was fire, and the shortage of water greatly increased the risk of extensive damage to a city built almost entirely of wood. Most residents gambled that their properties probably would remain safe and showed little concern for efforts to organize fire companies. The provisional government offered to subsidize any group which would organize a company and purchase a minimum of fire fighting equipment. The public, however, continued to rely on the protection of the crews from Camp Carlin or Fort Russell during the winter of 1867-1868. In the spring of 1868, the Pioneer Hook and Ladder Company was formed with seventy-five members.¹¹⁷ The new organization's chief function appears to have been the purchase of firemen's hats, for without a means of conveying water to the scene of a fire, there was little they could do. Businessmen finally took concerted action after the

¹¹⁶ King, The History of the Government of Denver. . ., pp. 80-83.

¹¹⁷ City Council, Minutes, November 15, 1867. Leader, November 16, 1867; April 1, 6, 21, 1868.

worst calamity in the city's history, a \$50,000 fire which destroyed a large portion of the business district in October, 1868. Pledging \$25 to \$100 each, they raised over \$5,000 for a fire engine, hoses, and a hose carrier and also let contracts to have cisterns dug in convenient locations to provide a greater supply of water. Protection against fires, however, was not improved. The engine lacked experienced operators, was chronically out of order, and usually arrived at a fire only in time to cool the ashes of a destroyed building.¹¹⁸

Unlike eastern frontier towns where care of the streets "constituted the most extensive activity" of the city governments,¹¹⁹ officials in Cheyenne and other western towns did little to grade or pave their city's streets. The results were clouds of dust in dry weather and a quagmire in wet weather. City Council periodically tried to enforce ordinances requiring residents to clear rubbish and garbage from in front of their property but the streets usually were strewn with shavings, straw, and even carcasses of dead animals. Occasionally prisoners from the city jail were commandeered into street-cleaning.¹²⁰ Council tried to prohibit animals from wandering through the principal streets,

¹¹⁸ Leader, October 3, 28, November 10, 12, 1868.

¹¹⁹ Wade, The Urban Frontier . . ., p. 84.

¹²⁰ Leader, December 12, 1867; March 20, 1868. City Council, Minutes, April 28, 1868.

but cows, and pigs, those "obese and alderman-like individuals," usually had the freedom of the city.¹²¹

City authorities were confronted with the need for a public cemetery almost as soon as the city was founded. Council conferred with General Stevenson, and he agreed to give forty acres from the east end of the military reservation to be used both by the city and the post.¹²²

Another civic responsibility, relief and hospitalization for the destitute, was second in importance only to law enforcement in terms of public money expended. The young city attracted many whose fortunes were at a low ebb. This fact, in combination with overcrowded and inadequate housing, a complete lack of sanitation facilities, and a bitterly cold plains winter, necessitated relief in some cases but more often hospitalization for those who could not afford the care offered by the two private hospitals in the city. The provisional government bought a hospital tent and paid a Dr. Irwin \$125 a month as city physician. When Irwin, together with a Dr. Graham, built his own hospital, the second floor was reserved for patients who were charges of the city. These doctors contracted with the city to provide comfortable quarters, board, and medical attention

¹²¹Leader, December 10, 1867.

¹²²City Council, Minutes, September 9, 18, 1867. Saltiel and Barnett, History and Business Directory . . ., p. 13.

for these patients.¹²³ With no epidemics or major diseases striking the city during the early years, the most common ailments treated were frostbite, pneumonia, and gunshot wounds. From five to ten patients were usually under the care of the city, at a cost to the taxpayers of from \$20 to \$40 per day. Council sought to reduce this expense and sent representatives to confer with the commander of Fort Russell, the county commissioners, and Union Pacific officials, in hopes of having them bear part of the load.¹²⁴ In April of 1868, Drs. Latham and Cory opened a new hospital, partially sponsored by the Union Pacific and Laramie County, and this relieved the city of some patients.¹²⁵ The city and county later rented the old Dodge House for use as a hospital and hired a Dr. Heimberger and a nurse to care for the city's indigent sick.¹²⁶

The formation of municipal government in Cheyenne is a story of remarkable success and disappointing weakness and failure. The city government became firmly established in spite of extraordinary difficulties, especially those

¹²³ City Council, Minutes, August 27, December 9, October 10, 1867.

¹²⁴ Leader, November 26, 1867; January 28, March 13, 1868. City Council, Minutes, February 17, 1868.

¹²⁵ City Council, Minutes, June 16, 1868. Leader, March 27, April 24, June 17, 1868.

¹²⁶ City Council, Minutes, June 10, 1869. Leader, February 19, 1869; May 4, 1870. Cheyenne Daily Argus, November 12, 1869.

stemming from the abnormally transient character of the population during the first winter. But basic fault lines ran through attempts to build a stable and responsible community. The active cooperation of the railroad company and the army were essential to any major undertaking, and residents tended to rely heavily on them to solve the city's problems. The result was a failure to build strong civic consciousness. In addition, Cheyenne's residents, like their counterparts elsewhere in the United States, had a "narrow conception of individual responsibility,"¹²⁷ and concerned themselves primarily with private economic pursuits.

¹²⁷McKelvey, The Urbanization of America . . .,
p. 95.

CHAPTER III

THE INTRODUCTION OF TRADITIONAL SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

A casual stroll through Cheyenne during August or September, 1867, would have given a visitor the impression that the familiar forms of society did not exist here. The disorganized and chaotic state of the population, a chief characteristic of this frontier environment, obviously tended to limit the development of the traditional social institutions. Yet, paradoxically, because this society was unformed in the sense that no patterns had been set, it provided the opportunity for the rapid transportation and proliferation of institutions then prevailing in established American society.

The rate at which these customary patterns of society were introduced in Cheyenne constantly amazed later visitors. Within several months newspapers, theaters, churches, and a school were a part of the social scene. As might be expected, residents were not unanimous in their desire to reproduce the culture they had previously known somewhere else. Some took advantage of the opportunity to escape from the built-in restraints of established societies. The result in Cheyenne, as elsewhere on the frontier, was the beginning of social divisions and contrasts; as Earl Pomeroy has described it,

"different Wests often lived side by side, on the same street."¹ These conflicting groups, however, must not be thought of simply in terms of "eastern" or "frontier". Easterners were not necessarily advocates of social stability and virtue, and frontiersmen did not always stand for disintegration and immorality.

Two factors facilitated the transplanting of eastern social customs into Cheyenne's society. The cosmopolitan army officers from nearby Fort Russell introduced an air of refinement and style. Together with the wealthier merchants and certain of the professional class, the officers formed the city's earliest "elite," which carried on a constant round of balls, banquets, and concerts. Even more important as an agent of acculturation was the railroad, which enabled the city to be in constant contact with the established eastern centers. The amenities of life in common use in the East were easily available because of the railroad. The trains from the East also brought a steady stream of visitors; newspapermen, theater companies, clergymen, and European aristocrats. By their comments and criticisms, and by their customs and fashions, these visitors kept Cheyenne's residents abreast of things eastern.

¹ Earl Pomeroy, "Toward a Reorientation of Western History: Continuity and Environment," MVHR, XLI (March, 1955), 582. For an elaboration of the term "frontier" as used here, see Robert F. Berkhover, "Space, Time, Culture, and the New Frontier." Agricultural History, XXXVIII (January, 1964), 21-30.

Cheyenne had advantages over many western towns in establishing a stable community along eastern lines, but it also faced many of the same difficulties. Among these was the transient character of much of its population. A large percentage, from one-half to two-thirds of those who made Cheyenne their headquarters during the winter of 1867-1868, intended to move westward with the construction of the railroad in the spring. As in Fort Benton, Montana, or the Kansas cowtowns, where populations fluctuated greatly each season, the transient element took little interest or pride in the city's development.² Even those businessmen who planned to remain behind were by no means confident that Cheyenne would become a permanent city. They therefore hesitated to sink their roots too deeply, whether by constructing a permanent home or by taking an active role in public life to fashion a stable community. Immigrants to Cheyenne continued to think longingly of the eastern states as "home" even if they intended to settle permanently. Such expressions as "going home next spring," "I hope to go home another year," "when I was home last," were commonly heard.³

Difficulties in establishing traditional social activities were also due to the virtual absence of family

²Paul Sharp, Whoop-Up Country, The Canadian-American West, 1865-1885 (Minneapolis, 1955), pp. 167-71.

³E. B. Tuttle, Six Months on the Plains: or, The Travellers Guide to Cheyenne and the Rocky Mountains (Chicago, 1868), p. 25.

life, for the population was made up almost entirely of adult males. The Leader, in estimating the total population to be 6,000 in February, 1868, pointed out that only 400 of this number were women.⁴ In addition to the small percentage of females, many women in Cheyenne during the first winter could hardly have been considered guardians of the American family, although it was probably a wild exaggeration to charge that "nine out of every ten women in this town are public prostitutes of the most degrading character."⁵

This transient, predominantly male population was more interested in making money quickly than in building a permanent community. Visitors to the city were particularly stuck by the great concern for business and the neglect of every social interest.

There is no such thing as domestic life, no friendship, no hospitality. People are too much occupied to think of it. 'Tis all a rough battle for gain.'⁶

Cheyenne's population was not unique, however, in being predominantly motivated by economic considerations. Referring to Louisville, Kentucky, in 1819, a writer concluded:

⁴ Leader, February 15, 1868.

⁵ Charles V. Arnold to the Editor, Omaha Weekly Herald, quoted by Leader, February 10, 1868.

⁶ Lola M. Homsher (ed.), South Pass, 1868: James Chisholm's Journal of the Wyoming Gold Rush (Lincoln, 1960), p. 30.

This eternal hunger and thirst after money, to the exclusion of almost every other pursuit, is not . . . peculiar to this place but [is] rather a general trait in the character of all newly formed commercial cities.⁷

Faced with these handicaps, American culture was diluted in its transmittal to the western frontier.⁸ But Cheyenne's residents were not disloyal to the traditional American way of life. Like colonials everywhere, Westerners often went to great lengths to defend their old customs. In fact, they tended to be "more American" than their eastern counterparts,⁹ fiercely proud of their country, and especially resentful of foreign criticism. An example is the reaction of Nathan A. Baker, the editor of the Leader, to a banquet given for Charles Dickens by the city of New York. Baker sharply disapproved of honoring Dickens. By doing so, New York "submissively toadied" to an author who had written a "book of sneers" about the United States and "applied the lash to Americans."¹⁰

The allegiance to American civilization was accompanied by an almost desperate need to be accepted as equal

⁷ Quoted by Richard Wade, The Urban Frontier, Pioneer Life in Early Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Lexington, Louisville, and St. Louis (Chicago, [1959] 1964), p. 105.

⁸ For an extended discussion of the "watering-down" of traditional culture on the frontier see Arthur K. Moore, The Frontier Mind, A Cultural Analysis of the Kentucky Frontiersman (Lexington, Kentucky, 1957).

⁹ Pomeroy, MVHR, XLI, 582.

¹⁰ Leader, April 22, 1868.

to the East in social stability and cultural sophistication.¹¹ The local press usually ignored derogatory comments and gave full coverage to those visitors who were favorably impressed by the civilized character of the city. For example, an agent of the Young Men's Christian Association who was "prepared to see the pale face tomahawked within sight of Cheyenne--and the unoffending citizen or stranger garroted and robbed in the streets of this far-famed city with impunity to the criminals," was quoted at length because he was pleasantly surprised by the "excellent society here."¹² Cheyenne, of course, was fully aware of its reputation abroad. Individuals and the press constantly sought to change the city's image, sometimes by satirizing the East's conceptions of what the city was like. Dr. Hiram Latham greeted Senator Roscoe Conkling at the Union Pacific depot with the following:

The brevity of your stay here this morning is the only circumstance which prevents us from inviting you to participate in our daily amusement of publicly hanging some miserable stranger by the Vigilantes. . . . We would also be pleased to escort you to any one of our ninety-three dance houses, where the sound of revolvers cease not and the smell of gunpowder is never absent. But rude fate prevents us from extending these hospitalities which we feel are justly expected by all visitors to Cheyenne.¹³

¹¹ Earl Pomeroy, In Search of the Golden West; The Tourist in Western America (New York, 1957), p. 71.

¹² Leader, December 1, 1868.

¹³ Leader, March 20, 1868.

On the other hand, some residents could not resist shocking gullible visitors with horrifying tales about the wildness and wickedness of the city. One traveller was told that the vigilantes had hanged 120 ruffians in a two-week period.¹⁴ Whether meant to impress or shock, statements by Cheyenne's citizens could not always be taken literally. An astute observer's conclusions about Westerners' truthfulness apply equally well to Cheyenne:

Verbal information, acquired from residents . . . is wholly unreliable. In fact, a person learns to appreciate Talleyrand's definition of language, "that it is made to conceal, not to utter, the truth," by a short sojourn among such a romantic and heterogeneous population.¹⁵

The allegiance to traditional American customs and virtues and the effort to re-establish these on the frontier characterize the process of social organization. Groups with common interests gradually evolving out of the welter of humanity began to establish theaters, churches, schools, and fraternal organizations similar to those elsewhere in the United States.

One of the most important agents in welding Cheyenne's multifarious population into a homogeneous community was the local press. Five little newspapers began publication during the city's first year. All were small enter-

¹⁴Isabella Bird. A Lady's Life in the Rocky Mountains (Norman, [1879] 1960), p. 26.

¹⁵Demas Barnes, From the Atlantic to the Pacific (New York, 1866), p. 29.

prises, most were financially unsuccessful, and several failed quickly. Yet these papers created and gave expression to the community's developing character and also provided a link with the world Cheyenne's residents had left.

The most successful and influential newspaper was the pioneer, the Leader, which began publication on September 19, 1867. The owner and editor, Nathan A. Baker, started his publishing career with the Colorado Leader in Denver early in 1867, but joined many other businessmen who moved to Cheyenne that fall.¹⁶ He claimed he came "upon no speculative venture, nor from mere curiosity; we mean work, and shall give exclusive attention to our profession."¹⁷ His newspaper's first issues, printed in the back room of a log building which housed a store, were painstakingly printed one page at a time. Baker later recalled that his first issue was enthusiastically received by a crowd of 300 men who were willing to pay 25¢ per copy, an indication of the thirst for knowledge of the outside world.¹⁸ The local demands for a daily soon allowed Baker to move into more spacious quarters and to modernize his

¹⁶ Rocky Mountain News (Denver), September 12, 1867. Elizabeth Keen, "Wyoming's Frontier Newspapers," Annals of Wyoming, XXXIV (April, 1962), 66. Interviews with Baker, Wyoming State Tribune-Cheyenne State Leader, July 20, 1929; July 27, 1933. Nolie Mumey, Nathan Addison Baker (Denver, 1965), pp. 5-26.

¹⁷ Leader, September 19, 1867.

¹⁸ Interview with Baker, Wyoming State Tribune-Cheyenne State Leader, July 20, 1929.

operations with a faster press.¹⁹ His early financial success is partly attributable to his contract with the city government, for the Leader became the official organ of the provisional government and published the proceedings of City Council and all city ordinances. This valuable contract was taken away from Baker, a moderate Republican, by the incoming Democratic administration in January, 1868, and given to the city's second paper, the Cheyenne Argus.²⁰ By this time, however, the Leader had firmly established itself as the leading paper in the city and as one of the important papers for the entire plains region.

Hoping that the young city would provide a lucrative field for journalistic endeavors, at least four newspapers were founded to compete with the Leader. The Cheyenne Argus began publication in late October, 1867, with the purpose of providing the local Democrats a voice, but financial difficulties and incompetent leadership led to its demise in 1870.²¹ The Daily Rocky Mountain Star, Radical Republican in politics, began its operations in December, 1867. Several editors tried unsuccessfully to keep the Star financially solvent,

¹⁹ Leader, September 28, December 10, 14, 17, 1867. W. E. Chaplin, "Some of the Early Newspapers of Wyoming," Wyoming Historical Society Miscellanies (1919), p. 7. Keen, Annals of Wyoming, XXXIII (October, 1961), 137-38.

²⁰ Leader, September 19, 1867; February 8, 1868.

²¹ Leader, October 24, December 14, 1867; May 9, 1870. Keen, Annals of Wyoming, XXXIII, 139-40.

including J. H. Hayford, who later achieved success as the editor of the Laramie Sentinel. After the Star's failure in 1869, Baker purchased its equipment and used it to found a new paper, the South Pass News, in the new Sweetwater mining region in the western part of the Territory.²² A short-lived venture by Emanuel Saltiel and George Barnett, called the Commercial Record, was published from April to June, 1868. It was to have been the Board of Trade's organ to officially promote the commercial interests of the city.²³ Saltiel apparently concluded that the reading public desired tastier fare, for he continued his journalistic efforts with a spicy sheet, the Fast Life. Evidently Cheyenne was more conservative than Saltiel imagined, for his venture quickly "fizzled out" after less than a month of publication.²⁴

The most colorful of Wyoming's frontier newspapers, the Frontier Index of the Freeman brothers, was probably never published in Cheyenne. Dubbing itself the "Press on Wheels," the Index prided itself on following the "Hell on Wheels" westward. Although press reports indicated that the Index was moving from Julesburg to Cheyenne in September,

²²"Dictation of J. H. Hayford," Laramie City, 1885 (Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley), p. 1. Frontier Index (Laramie), June 19, 1868. Leader, July 8, 1868; June 9, 1869. Keen, Annals of Wyoming, XXXIII, 140.

²³Leader, April 6, June 17, 1868. Sweetwater Mines (South Pass City), April 15, 1868.

²⁴Frontier Index, June 23, 1868. Leader, June 30, 1868. Keen, Annals of Wyoming, XXXIII, 140.

1867, there is no evidence that it ever came out with an issue in Cheyenne. The Freeman brothers spent September and October in Cheyenne, but may have felt their type of paper could not compete with a paper of the Leader's stature. By December the Index was being published at Fort Sanders.²⁵

The editors of these various early newspapers came to the frontier having little or no capital but displaying immense optimism and courage. Most were forced to operate their papers in the fashion described by a visiting French journalist:

The [Cheyenne] journalist is at once his own author, compositor, proofreader, printer and businessmanager, and he sums up all these functions under the general name of editor.²⁶

These newspapermen were in close touch with the people and events in the city. Their editorials reflected their personal concern for the interests of the city; having chosen Cheyenne as their location, their prosperity rose or fell with that of the city. The pages of their papers, especially those of Baker's Leader, were the city's chief means of keeping in touch with events in the states.

²⁵ Rocky Mountain News, August 31, 1867. Leader, November 2, December 14, 21, 1867. Keen (Annals of Wyoming, XXXIII, 140) believes that the Index was published in Cheyenne. However, the Leader, which commented on each newspaper's arrival, welcomed the Argus as the second and the Star as the third newspapers to begin publication in Cheyenne. While mentioning the presence of the Freeman brothers, the Leader never indicated that they published the Index in the city.

²⁶ Louis Laurent Simonin, "A French View of Cheyenne," The Frontier, X (March, 1930), 242.

The Leader was the only paper to receive telegraphic dispatches (the Argus and the Star simply copied them from the Leader and published them one day later), and its entire first page was usually taken up by reports of eastern and European events.²⁷

The newspapermen publicized the efforts of churches and various cultural organizations and actively sponsored progressive measures such as the establishment of a school and an effective water system. Baker was an especially outspoken advocate of a stable community. For a time he hired the Methodist local preacher, Dr. D. W. Scott, as an associate editor of his paper; Scott wrote many moralistic and religious articles before the pressure of his other activities forced him to resign.²⁸ The Star served as the vigilante organ and published the names of those the vigilantes advised to leave town. While Mayor Luke Murrin later blamed the Star for encouraging rowdiness, the Episcopalian missionary felt that the Star was "the best and most dignified paper we had."²⁹ Only one of the city's early papers, Salliel's Fast Life, appears to have been detrimental to the community's best interests. It did not receive the usual complimentary notices upon beginning publication but was

²⁷ Leader, November 21, 1868.

²⁸ Leader, October 24, November 30, 1867.

²⁹ N. S. Thomas (ed.), Diary and Letters of the Reverend Joseph W. Cook, Missionary to Cheyenne (Laramie, 1919),

described as "teeming with disgusting obscenity."³⁰

Most of the papers were staunch advocates of a progressive town, but their chief function, in their own eyes, was advertising and promoting "the best interests of our young city."³¹ Cheyenne was advertised most effectively through the pages of the Leader, which had a wide circulation outside the Territory and was frequently quoted by other papers. Much of the optimism about Cheyenne's future was given expression through the Leader's columns. Baker constantly stressed the rapid rise in population, the tremendous sales of town lots, and the brisk commercial activity as sure evidence that Cheyenne would soon be "the city of the West . . . the largest city west of Chicago."³² But Baker and other editors were often forced into some awkward postures because they knew that Easterners considering settling in this part of the West would read everything they wrote. Thus, they would describe the city for the benefit of outsiders as being "as quiet and orderly as any New England village," but, because they also had a responsibility to the community, they would call on the local authorities to take more strenuous action against growing lawlessness.

The craving for continual contact with the East,

p. 119, hereafter cited as Cook Diary.

³⁰ Leader, May 29, 1868.

³¹ Leader, December 5, 10, 1867; April 6, June 17, 24, 1868.

³² Leader, January 17, 31, February 1, 1868.

indicated by the abundance of eastern news reprinted in the local press, was also apparent in the establishment of a post office. The earliest mail was delivered by Wells, Fargo Express but this was considered an unsatisfactory arrangement. Even before the organization of a city government, residents made representations to Washington to have a regular federal post office established in the new city. On September 9, 1867, Thomas McLeland was appointed postmaster and opened for business in a little tent. An early visitor reported that "around this inelegant structure was the busy hum of the awaiting throng for the little rectangular packages."³³ The amount of mail pouring into the city forced McLeland to move to successively larger quarters several times. By May, 1868, a relatively permanent post office was erected, a building that would not "tremble . . . no matter how great the crowd which may be gathered within its walls."³⁴ The need for a sturdy post office building was more than a matter of civic pride. An average of over 2,600 letters per day was reported arriving during the months of October, November, and December of 1867.³⁵

³³ John W. Clampitt, Echoes from the Rocky Mountains (Chicago, 1888), p. 189.

³⁴ Leader, May 18, 1868.

³⁵ Emanuel H. Saltiel and George Barnett, History and Business Directory of Cheyenne and Guide to the Mining Regions of the Rocky Mountains (Cheyenne, 1868), p. 11. Rocky Mountain News, August 28, 1867. [C. G. Coutant], "History of Wyoming Written by C. G. Coutant, Pioneer Historian and Heretofore Unpublished," Annals of Wyoming, XII (January, 1940), 323.

The desire to reconstruct eastern society on the frontier and the difficulties attending such an attempt are characterized by the introduction of theatrical entertainment. The city was considered a good show town and is said to have "offered the greatest amount and variety of theatrical fare" of the many frontier towns on the northern plains.³⁶ Theaters were built and well supported months before churches and a school were built. The fare offered by these theaters reflected the taste of a raw frontier town; the managers were tempted to cater to the lowest level in the community, but a remarkably large number of legitimate performances were presented and were well received.

"A general desire to witness theatrical performances" greeted the arrival in September, 1867, of the Julesburg Theatrical Troupe, the first performers to appear in the city.³⁷ By the beginning of October, King and Metcalfe of Julesburg had constructed the first theater, a large building 80 x 26 feet, complete with a parquet, dress circle, and private boxes.³⁸ Early performances evidently attracted a rough clientele for when the theater reopened in December as the Melodeon, the new

³⁶Harold E. and Ernestine Briggs, "The Early Theater on the Northern Plains," MVHR, XXXVIII (September, 1950), 247.

³⁷Leader, September 19, 1867.

³⁸Leader, October 3, 5, 1867.

management promised: "Improper characters will be excluded from the hall. Ladies, therefore, who desire this evening to witness the performance of the celebrated tragedean, Mr. James Stark, need have no apprehension on that score."³⁹

The presence of Stark, one of the leading actors of the country, indicates a willingness to present the best available theatrical fare to the frontier city.⁴⁰ The Leader was delighted: not only could ladies "now attend this place with impunity," but the "town had wanted the legitimate drama and now we have it good."⁴¹ But the Leader was soon forced to warn the Melodeon against the continued use of a "certain class of comic songs," as the fare degenerated.⁴²

When the theater failed, the Leader attributed it to the low class of entertainment presented for the "intelligence and good taste of the citizens of this city demand something more than a 'Melodeon.'"⁴³ Reopened as the Cheyenne Theater, it was leased to the Selden Irwin troupe for a three-month run of legitimate drama. Among the many plays presented were Andy Blake, The Drunkard, The Lady of Lyons, Lend me Five Shillings, and Black Eyed Susan. The

³⁹Leader, December 3, 1867.

⁴⁰Briggs and Briggs, MVHR, XXVIII, 248.

⁴¹Leader, December 6, 7, 12, 1867.

⁴²December 14, 1867.

⁴³January 30, 1868.

Irwins also presented G. B. Waldron in Othello and Madame Marie Schellar in the opera, The Pearl of Savoy.⁴⁴ A reporter from the Leader was usually present at the theater and often tried his hand as a drama critic. For example, most of the actors were praised for the troupe's presentation of Under the Gas Light, but a Mr. McDowell was criticized as being "altogether too monotonous" in a role demanding a flexible and sensitive performance.⁴⁵

After a "meager attendance" at Hamlet, signalling the premature end of a planned three-month season, the Leader complained:

It is really discouraging to find that neither the beauties of Ophelia, nor the talent and earnest endeavors of the fair beneficiary [Mrs. Irwin] were considered by the citizens of Cheyenne of sufficient value to merit their approbation and secure a full house, but so it happens to be, that the legitimate drama and genuine talent have no longer any attractions for the masses. Sensational and spectacular exhibitions are the fashions no matter how absurd they rule the hour.⁴⁶

No one seemed surprised by the remarkable fact that the legitimate theater had done well for a one and one-half month season in the new frontier town.

More to the taste of a majority of the city's early residents was the entertainment offered by the various variety theaters. As interest declined in the Irwin

⁴⁴Leader, January 13, February 10, 11, April 2, 4, 8, 15, 1868.

⁴⁵Leader, April 20, 1868.

⁴⁶April 22, 1868.

troupe's legitimate offerings, the variety theaters--the Theater Comique, the Concert Hall, the Model Concert Hall, the Gold Room--were drawing full houses.⁴⁷ Here the city's males, together with the railroad construction crews, the bullwhackers and mule skinners, and the soldiers from Fort Russell, gathered to appreciate noisily the hurdy-gurdy performers or minstrels on stage, to risk their greenbacks at the gambling tables and to consume large quantities of bad liquor. Most variety theaters were built on the same general plan, with a gambling house and a saloon as a part of the establishment. The smaller houses usually had all three functions operating simultaneously in the same hall. The larger theaters had a gallery which encircled the hall; this was divided into partially enclosed boxes where female employees served and entertained the clientele. No admission was charged as the house depended on the sale of liquor and the winnings of the gambling tables for its revenue.⁴⁸

The most successful of the variety theater operators was the self-styled "Barnum of the West," James McDaniel. He was one of the most popular citizens of the city, and his theater was patronized by residents to the

⁴⁷ Leader, February 28, April 20, 21, 1868.

⁴⁸ Campton Bell, "The Early Theaters, Cheyenne, Wyoming, 1867-1882," Annals of Wyoming, XXV (January, 1953), 3; Harold Briggs, "Early Variety Theaters in the Trans-Mississippi West," Mid-America, XXXIV (Spring, 1952), 188-89.

extent that it virtually became the community center. The entertainment at McDaniel's was usually considered to be on a higher level than that of other variety theaters such as the Gold Room, but even McDaniel occasionally pandered to the lowest tastes. Patrons of his bar were allowed free access to his museum which boasted "choice pictures of art,"⁴⁹ but the county judge failed to be impressed by the artistic quality of McDaniel's pictures and fined him \$25 and costs for exhibiting "obscene and lascivious pictures" in his museum's stereoscopic machine.⁵⁰

Like the variety theaters, the city's saloons were important centers of social life for the males of the community. In the tradition of the taverns of the colonial seaports, the saloon in the western town was a meeting place for men from every walk of life. Here the city's merchants and lawyers mixed socially with the bullwhackers and construction laborers. Here strangers and residents alike knew they could find the latest information on the progress of railroad construction, possible mining booms, the price of city lots, or the danger of Indian wars. Here came those looking for work and those requiring laborers.⁵¹ While

⁴⁹Leader, October 29, 1867.

⁵⁰Cook Diary, p. 9. Laramie County, District Court, Criminal Appearance Dockets (Wyoming State Archives and Historical Department, Cheyenne), March 14, 1868.

⁵¹Carl Bridenbaugh, Cities in the Wilderness, The First Century of Urban Life in America, 1625-1742 (New York,

serving an important social function, the saloons also created problems; overindulgence often erupted into violence and death, and the saloons often seemed to attract the least desirable elements in society. But because saloons, through their licences, were the greatest single source of revenue for the city governments, they were virtually unregulated. An abortive attempt to prohibit the sale of liquor to the soldiers from Fort Russell was one of the few efforts made to curb the saloons during this early period.⁵²

At the opposite pole of society to the variety theaters and saloons were the small but courageous churches. Though weak in numbers and virtually powerless to change the prevailing character of the early city, the churches were a major factor in the transportation of American civilization to the frontier.⁵³ Most of the original impulse for Cheyenne's religious organizations came from older, more settled portions of the country, but the local churches soon became the rallying points of respectability and decency in a city legendary for its godlessness. Three small

1960), p. 107. Mark H. Brown and W. R. Felton, The Frontier Years; L. A. Huffman, Photographer of the Plains (New York, 1955), p. 144.

⁵²Cheyenne, City Council, Minutes of Meetings, November 7, 1867 (Wyoming State Archives and Historical Department, Cheyenne).

⁵³For a general discussion of the role of organized religion in maintaining traditional American civilization, see: Louis B. Wright, Culture on the Moving Frontier (New York, [1955] 1961), pp. 168-97; and Pomeroy, MVHR, XLI, 592.

congregations were formed during the first winter; two of these were able to erect churches by the fall of 1868. Organized religious activity soon after a town's founding was not unusual on the far western frontier, but it was by no means inevitable as illustrated by the situation in two other plains cities. Dodge City in Kansas had no organized religious congregation for five years, and Fort Benton, Montana, a thriving distributing center with a permanent population of more than 700, had no church building and no resident minister for more than twenty years.⁵⁴

The religious pioneers on much of the western frontier, the Methodists, were also the pioneers in Cheyenne. While the city was nominally located in the Nebraska Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, the Colorado Conference took the initiative in organizing a congregation in Cheyenne, feeling that the city belonged naturally to the Colorado region. By the summer of 1868, southern Wyoming was officially transferred to the Colorado Conference. Methodists may have been individualistic in their theological approach, but they relied on firm ecclesiastical organization under episcopal jurisdiction, not circuit riders, in forming new congregations in the trans-Mississippi West. The bishop provided financial support, supervision, and the ordained ministers necessary to make the local congregations

⁵⁴Sharp, Whoop-Up Country . . . , p. 160. Stanley Vestal, Dodge City, Queen of Cowtowns (New York, 1952), p. 229.

function effectively.⁵⁵ Through the offices of the bishop in Denver, Rev. W. W. Baldwin was sent to organize the Methodists of Cheyenne into a congregation. About seventy persons attended the formal founding service on September 29, 1867, at City Hall, which had been made available for religious services; fifteen officially joined the congregation after the service.

The Conference was not able to provide an ordained minister immediately, but several members of the congregation were able to give outstanding leadership during the early months. Chief among these was Dr. D. W. Scott who became the local preacher. He also operated one of the largest general stores in the city, served for a time as the associate editor of the Leader, and occasionally practised medicine. As was the Methodist custom, he received no salary but held regular services and carried on all the functions of an ordained minister.⁵⁶ He also became head of the Sabbath school which was formed a week after the organization of the congregation. City officials had given

⁵⁵ Malcom Libni Cook, "The Methodist Episcopal Church in Wyoming, 1867-1888" (unpublished Master's thesis, Denver University, 1955), pp. 12-13. Colin B. Goodykoontz, Home Missions on the American Frontier, with Particular Reference to the American Home Missionary Society (Caldwell, Idaho, 1939), p. 412.

⁵⁶ Cook, "The Methodist Episcopal Church . . . , " pp. 17-21. Saltiel and Barnett, History and Business Directory . . ., p. 15. City Council, Minutes, September 26, 1867. Leader, October 3, 1867. Cook Diary, p. 12.

the congregation permission to use City Hall for Sabbath school in the afternoons and worship service in the evening. Scott wished to leave the morning open as he believed some other denomination would soon arrive and would wish to use City Hall for morning worship. As soon as a school house was built in January, 1868, the congregation began worshipping in these larger quarters. Some of the usual aids to worship were soon acquired: \$50 worth of song books was purchased and a cabinet organ was borrowed from one of the families. In appreciation of Scott's efforts, the congregation presented him with \$320 at a testimonial dinner.⁵⁷ He was later given assistance by another local preacher, G. S. Allen, who was characterized as "a sort of rough, ready, all round individual . . . on the order of a cowboy preacher."⁵⁸

In addition to preaching every Sunday, Scott was also involved in several other efforts to improve the moral tone of the city. He became an officer of the Cheyenne Bible Society which was organized in November, 1867. Included in the list of officers were J. R. Whitehead and Thomas McLeland.⁵⁹ During the most chaotic period in the

⁵⁷ Cook Diary, p. 15. Leader, November 12, 1867; January 21, 1868.

⁵⁸ Quoted by Cook, "The Methodist Episcopal Church . . . , " p. 20.

⁵⁹ Leader, November 21, 1867. Chicago Times, November 22, 1867.

city's history, January, 1868, Scott held a week of prayer meetings under the banner of the "Evangelical Alliance," in an attempt to unify the city's Protestants in the face of powerful "forces of evil."⁶⁰

Scott had taken over the responsibility for the Methodist congregation with the understanding that the bishop in Denver would soon provide an ordained minister. By the summer of 1868, the Rev. Andrew Cather was sent to replace him. Evidently having had enough of the frontier city, Scott sold his business and returned east. The new minister, compared with the dynamic Scott, was reported to be "a very tame affair."⁶¹ Cather found the combination of the Great Plains climate and the hardships of a frontier city too much for his health. His periodic illnesses placed the responsibility of running the congregation on the remaining laymen.⁶² The Methodists' initiative soon passed to other denominations, but the bishop's direction and aid kept the floundering congregation in existence.

The second congregation organized in the city was

⁶⁰Leader, January 21, 1868.

⁶¹Cook Diary, p. 106. Cook, "The Methodist Episcopal Church . . . ," pp. 21-25. Leader, August 22, October 17, 1868.

⁶²Cook, "The Methodist Episcopal Church . . . ," pp. 21-25. J. A. Johnson, "History of First Methodist Church of Cheyenne," Wyoming Historical Collections, I (1897), 303.

that of the Roman Catholics. Bishop James O'Gorman, in charge of the Nebraska vicariate, considered the new country being opened up by the Union Pacific as his responsibility. The first missionary sent by O'Gorman to this region was a Father Ryan who was given a parish extending from Fremont, Nebraska, to Cheyenne. Known as "the chaplain of the Union Pacific," and "Ole Cap," Ryan was a frontiersman willing to offer Mass or preach sermons in railroad section cars, bunkhouses, or wherever he was given the opportunity. By the fall of 1867, O'Gorman divided the territory Ryan was serving by placing Father William Kelly in charge of all the territory along the Union Pacific west of Sidney, Nebraska, including the city of Cheyenne. During the week Kelly devoted his time to missionary work among the construction crews by leading worship in section cars as Father Ryan had done. On Sundays he preached at Cheyenne where he started a congregation in late November or early December.⁶³

As the original Catholic membership was made up primarily of Irish laborers who were not able to give large contributions to the construction of a church, the congregation found difficulty in completing even a small

⁶³Henry W. Casper, The Church on the Northern Plains, 1838-1874, Vol. I of History of the Catholic Church in Nebraska (Milwaukee, 1960), pp. 166-70, 206-07, 314-15. Patrick A. McGovern, History of the Diocese of Cheyenne (Cheyenne, 1941), pp. 27-28. Leader, November 21, December 26, 1867.

chapel. Constructed partially in Omaha and then shipped to Cheyenne by the Union Pacific, the chapel was finally ready for services by the end of September, 1868.⁶⁴ The necessity for sacrifice and active participation in the construction of a church was a new experience for these European immigrants. As was the case in other parts of the West, those who remained Catholics usually became more than nominal members.⁶⁵

The Episcopalian church, not usually associated with missionary interests on the frontier, was one of the first denominations to take an interest in the territory opened by the Union Pacific. By the end of the Civil War, the church had become "less Anglican and more American in its outlook," and its missionary bishops were actively supervising the extension of the church into the West.⁶⁶ Bishop Clarkson of the Nebraska diocese in which Cheyenne lay, made efforts to contact Episcopalians in the various new frontier towns which sprang up. During the summer of 1867 the Rev. Charles A. Gilbert spent his summer vacation in Cheyenne; it was his "active exertions in behalf of the church in that region" which interested several Episcopalians in organizing a congregation. These wrote Clarkson

⁶⁴Casper, The Church on the Northern Plains . . ., p. 208. Leader, May 11, 27, August 26, 1868.

⁶⁵James P. Shannon, Catholic Colonization on the Western Frontier (New Haven, 1957), p. 174.

⁶⁶Goodykoontz, Home Missions . . ., p. 322.

promising to raise \$2,000 for a chapel and \$1,000 a year for a clergyman.⁶⁷ The Leader supported a subscription paper being circulated in October, 1867, and declared that "every good citizen" should be interested in having a church built in the city.⁶⁸

The city's Episcopalians were occasionally served by the chaplain at Fort Russell, Rev. E. B. Tuttle,⁶⁹ but no formal organization was perfected until the arrival of the Rev. Joseph W. Cook in January, 1868. A sensitive, cultured Easterner, Cook was horrified by social conditions in his new charge:

The wickedness is unimaginable and appalling. This is the great centre for gamblers of all shades, and roughs, and troops of lewd women, and bull-whackers. Almost every other house is a drinking saloon, gambling house, restaurant, dance house or bawdy. In the east, as a general thing, vice is obliged in some measure to keep somewhat in the dark, and a cloak of refinement is thrown over it. But here all is open and above board, and the eyes and ears are assailed at every turn.⁷⁰

"If there ever was a place," Cook wrote his bishop, "which needed a standard lifted up against the enemy, it is

⁶⁷"Report of Bishop Clarkson to Board of Missions, October 15, 1867," quoted in Parish Register, I (St. Mark's Episcopal Church Archives, Cheyenne). Letter of "Rocky Mountain Picket," American Churchman, January 29, 1868. Clippings for various dates of this Episcopalian periodical are in Parish Register, I.

⁶⁸October 12, 1867.

⁶⁹Leader, November 16, 1867.

⁷⁰Cook Diary, p. 8.

here."⁷¹ His first sermon, to seventy-five people gathered in the school house, indicated his intention to attack the evil he saw about him. As the apostle Paul had battled licentiousness and corruption in ancient Corinth, he would combat sin in licentious Cheyenne by holding up the basic truths of the gospel.⁷²

Many of Cheyenne's residents appeared to be happy that "something is to be done to affect the terrible state of things in this worst of all places under the sun."⁷³ Enough interest was shown to warrant the organization of an Episcopalian congregation; about twenty men attended a meeting at Kountze Brothers' Bank to discuss the best method of proceeding with the project. While some expressed the opinion that Cook should further survey the city to see if another congregation (in addition to the Methodists and Catholics) was warranted, most felt that the work of organizing a congregation and construction of a church should go ahead immediately. Those elected wardens and members of the vestry all promised hasty action in securing building materials and also promised Cook a salary of \$100 per month for the present, and \$2,500 annually as soon as possible.⁷⁴

⁷¹Cook Diary, p. 11

⁷²Cook Diary, p. 14. "Rocky Mountain Picket," January 29, 1868.

⁷³Cook Diary, p. 11.

⁷⁴Cook Diary, pp. 22-23, 96, 97.

But glowing promises did not build a church and Cook became "greatly chagrined and annoyed" at his vestry's innumerable delays. It appeared that everyone had "so much business of his own to attend to that it is almost impossible to get on."⁷⁵ On several occasions his chief vestrymen, Maj. J. D. Wooley and Col. E. B. Carling, came to vestry meetings so drunk that no business was possible.⁷⁶ In spite of countless delays, construction began and the church was ready for occupancy by August. The wooden gothic structure was described as being "severely plain, and yet the proportions and combinations are such as to produce one of the most beautiful little churches one would be likely to meet with in a week's travel."⁷⁷ The interior consisted of a simple nave, surmounted at the chancel by a cross. In contrast to the financial difficulties of the Methodists and the Roman Catholics, the Episcopalians were able to pay for their building quickly. St. Mark's church in Philadelphia contributed \$1,000 and the community subscribed \$3,800. The consecration on August 23, 1868, created a good deal of interest for this was the first protestant church building in what would become Wyoming. Three hundred residents attended the opening services (the normal capacity was 200)

⁷⁵Cook Diary, p. 41.

⁷⁶Cook Diary, p. 63.

⁷⁷"Rocky Mountain Picket," August 27, 1868. Cook Diary, pp. 74, 98. Leader, May 21, 22, 1868.

and many were turned away.⁷⁸

The Episcopalians consciously identified themselves with the upper class of Cheyenne's society. Rather than hindering the church's success, this became a major reason for its prosperity as many emigrants to the West appeared to be seeking increased social status, not egalitarianism. Cook reported that those in Cheyenne interested in the Episcopal church were "the more intelligent and respectable of the population, as is usual."⁷⁹

He attributed the Episcopalian success to the generally high calibre of the population: the "so-called 'good pioneers,' the Methodists, etc., are not the pioneers in this far west. The population is too advanced, too intelligent for them."⁸⁰ The congregation was described as being,

very much above the average of those in the towns at the East in intelligence, owing to the fact that, as a rule, it is the more active and enterprising class of the people who emigrate to the West, and also that it is the better class who attend service at all.⁸¹

In order to bring this "better class of people together socially," and to "shape society," Cook organized a "Mite Society."⁸² Meeting every second Thursday evening,

⁷⁸"Rocky Mountain Picket," August 27, 1868. Cook Diary, p. 98. Leader, August 24, 1868.

⁷⁹Cook Diary, p. 18.

⁸⁰Cook Diary, p. 96.

⁸¹"Rocky Mountain Picket," May 28, 1868.

⁸²Parish Register, I, February 20, 1868. Cook Diary, p.45.

the society provided entertainment and an opportunity to serve the church. The Leader gave full coverage to the meetings which were usually reported to have been attended by the "beauty and gallantry of the city," and the "elite of society."⁸³ The society raised money for chancel furnishings and \$225 for a portable pipe organ by sponsoring several strawberry festivals. Although Cook was personally opposed to this sort of festival, it had "become so common a means of raising money that it [was] sometimes hard to restrain it."⁸⁴ The Episcopalian custom of selling pews was not discarded in the supposedly egalitarian West; those wishing to secure pews were advised through the press to meet with the vestry.⁸⁵

The earliest churches were able to accomplish little to mitigate the evils of gambling, prostitution, and alcohol and therefore concerned themselves with more limited objectives, even if it only entailed giving a religious burial to someone who had been killed in a gun fight. The Leader, complaining of the "custom becoming somewhat too prevalent of hurrying deceased persons into their grave without any religious services," advised residents that either Cook or Tuttle at Fort Russell, would be happy to conduct funerals

⁸³Leader, March 7, May 14, June 11, July 23, September 1, 2, 1868.

⁸⁴Cook Diary, p. 99. Leader, June 19, 1868.

⁸⁵Leader, August 22, 1868.

if notified.⁸⁶ Cook performed more funeral services than any other type of service; in his first nine months in Cheyenne, he baptized eight, confirmed eight, married four couples, and buried seventeen.⁸⁷ But he was occasionally unhappy with the prevailing conception of a clergyman's usefulness to the sick and dying. Not allowed to see a sick woman he had called on, he was told by her husband, "If she gets worse we shall be glad to have you see her." Cook was exasperated: "When the Doctor can do no more, and the poor patient is worn out in body and mind, perhaps unconscious," then the thought occurs, "send for the minister."⁸⁸

The churches also applied themselves to changing the western custom of disregarding Sunday. The provisional government had ordered all businesses closed by 9 P.M. on Sunday evenings,⁸⁹ and some shops were voluntarily closed for the entire day, but this custom was far from generally accepted. The Leader felt it necessary to sermonize: "If an ox falls into a pit he may be lifted out, but there is no especial reason in driving your ox into a pit for the purpose of affording yourself Sunday employment."⁹⁰ Cook attempted

⁸⁶Leader, March 4, 1868.

⁸⁷Cook Diary, p. 99.

⁸⁸Cook Diary, p. 62.

⁸⁹City Council, Minutes, October 17, 1867. Leader, November 19, 1867. Cook Diary, p. 18.

⁹⁰July 25, 1868.

to convince at least Episcopalians to close their businesses on Sunday. One nominal member, a certain Shakespeare, kept his billiard hall open on Sundays and chided Cook when approached about the matter: "We came out here to make money, and we are not governed by the old puritanical ideas prevalent in the States."⁹¹ But the Roman Catholic priest, Father Kelly, was determined to have all saloons closed between the hours of nine and twelve Sunday mornings. He claimed a cheerful compliance on the part of saloon keepers after he had called on them.⁹²

The Episcopalians realized that one of the most effective methods of molding a civilized society was by influencing the children of the community. A parish school was begun, after a series of delays, in December, 1868. Cook had opened a school in September but the incompetence of the teacher forced him to close it until he secured the services of Miss Fannie Peters of New York. Cook taught part of the curriculum which included instrumental and vocal music, French, Holy Scriptures, English composition, and declamation in addition to the "ordinary branches of a GOOD ENGLISH EDUCATION." According to Cook's advertisement in the Leader, he was determined to "make it a select school of the highest order."⁹³

⁹¹Cook Diary, p. 59.

⁹²Casper, The Church on the Northern Plains . . ., p. 209.

⁹³Leader, December 3, 1868. Parish Register, I, September 7, December 7, 1868. Cook Diary, pp. 100, 102.

Interest in education was evident soon after the city's founding. A public school was opened early in February, 1868, some ten months before the Episcopalian parish school began to admit students. While schools were legally the responsibility of the county government, no county organization existed during the first months to provide the service. Residents, therefore, demanded that city authorities take action in the matter.⁹⁴ An unnamed minister (probably Dr. D. W. Scott) approached City Council in early September, 1867, but council deferred action, feeling other duties demanded prior attention.⁹⁵ A letter to the Leader asking the city to provide a school building was followed by a lengthy editorial in the October 24 issue. Baker argued that the only real basis for the city's prosperity was a virtuous and intelligent population. A "population of families" was descending on the West; Cheyenne must provide schools, for these immigrants would not live in cities in which their children could not get an education. The issues were clear:

What is a town without schools and churches? Answer, Julesburg. Is Cheyenne to be such a town? No, sir.

⁹⁴In October, 1867, William Kuykendall wrote the Dakota Territorial Superintendent of schools that the residents of Cheyenne were doing their best to organize a county "which is the foundation for success with public schools," but as yet 200 children were without schools of any kind. Letter quoted by George W. Kingsbury, History of Dakota Territory, I (Chicago, 1915), 472.

⁹⁵City Council, Minutes, September 9, 1867.

Families are what we want. Homes with mothers and children in them, to restrain, and give tone to our social fabric.⁹⁶

Stirred to action, perhaps by the Leader article, a group of citizens, led by J. H. Gildersleeve of the Dodge House, came before City Council and demanded it take action. Mayor Hook appointed a committee headed by J. R. Whitehead to investigate the feasibility of the city taking on such a responsibility.⁹⁷ Whitehead's committee discovered that from 100 to 125 children were eligible for school and that many parents were willing to subscribe to a new building. With public support growing, City Council decided to take on the burden of education. M. A. Arnold, hired to canvass the city for subscriptions, was able to raise \$1,335, but as the cost of the 24 x 40 foot structure was \$2,235, City Council was forced to borrow the additional \$900 at the exorbitant current interest rate of 5% per month.⁹⁸

The school house was dedicated on January 4, 1868, amid high hopes for its effect on the community. Rev. G. S. Allen, one of the Methodist local preachers, believed that the school would soon become a powerful moral force to

⁹⁶"Cheyenner" to the Editor, Leader, October 19, 1867. Leader, October 24, 1867.

⁹⁷City Council, Minutes, October 24, 1867. Leader, October 26, 1867.

⁹⁸City Council, Minutes, November 2, 7, 9, 1867; January 9, 18, 1868. Leader, February 3, 1868. William Kuykendall, Frontier Days, A True Narrative of Striking Events on the Western Frontier (Cheyenne, 1917), p. 120.

"redeem our city from the rule of crime and vice."⁹⁹

As education was the responsibility of county government, the perfecting of a legal county organization at the end of January gave city officials the opportunity to rid themselves of the duties of education. Laramie County assumed the supervision of the school together with the \$900 debt on the building.¹⁰⁰ The school was finally opened to students on February 9, with M. A. Arnold as teacher and his wife as part-time assistant. One hundred and fourteen children were enrolled and the average attendance for the first month was eighty-six.¹⁰¹ All of these students were crowded into one small room and no attempt was made to grade them. Many parents were reported dissatisfied with the conditions in the school and did not "send their children at all because of the danger: there being all kinds and sizes in the school."¹⁰² After repeated complaints, the school board dismissed Arnold and hired J. H. Hayford as teacher. Hayford had even less success than Arnold and "submissively resigned" after three days; his term was said to have been characterized by frequent showers of paper balls, peas, and

⁹⁹ Leader, January 6, 1868.

¹⁰⁰ City Council, Minutes, February 4, 25, 1868. Leader, February 6, 19, 1868. Dakota Territory, Session Laws of the Seventh Legislative Assembly, 1867-1868 (Yank-ton, 1868), pp. 230-55.

¹⁰¹ "Report of Arnold to School Board," Leader, February 15, 1868.

¹⁰² Cook Diary, p. 32.

even shot."¹⁰³ The next teacher, S. J. Scriber, had fewer disciplinary problems. Perhaps the students respected him because of his activities outside the classroom for he was reported to be "one of the Vigilantes and now spends a great deal of his time in a billiard house owned and conducted by the captain of the band."¹⁰⁴

As the school became established and daily attendance rose to 120, the building was lengthened by 30 feet to make it 70 x 24. It was then partitioned into two rooms by folding doors which made it particularly useful to churches, Sunday schools, literary groups, in addition to dividing the younger from the older children. The equipment within the school was also improved: it now included two stoves, two large blackboards, two tables and desks, two large maps, and cloth curtains on the windows. Although there was as yet no grading system, the county superintendent listed a pretentious program: reading, spelling, writing, physical and descriptive geography, mental and written arithmetic, algebra, grammar and composition, declamation, "interspersed with lectures on prominent and useful topics, and map exercises."¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³ J. H. Triggs, History of Cheyenne and Northern Wyoming, Embracing the Gold Fields of the Black Hills, Powder River and Big Horn Countries (Omaha, 1876), pp. 30-31. Leader, March 28, 1868.

¹⁰⁴ Cook Diary, p. 104.

¹⁰⁵ "Report of County Superintendent," Leader, May 23, 1868. Leader, May 5, 1868.

Public exercises marked the progress of this first attempt at education as the school closed in June for a month of vacation. Commenting on the success of the performance, the Leader saw it as "a strange contrast to the scenes which might have been exhibited on this spot less than a year ago, when the prairie was the undisputed home of wolves and buffalo."¹⁰⁶

Two private schools had been established early in 1868; both claimed to be "select" schools and were supervised by young female teachers.¹⁰⁷ There is no evidence that either had many students or lasted more than several months. The Episcopal parish school was, therefore, the third private school opened and the only one which assumed any importance until a Catholic parish school was started later.

In addition to schools and churches, residents also moved quickly to organize other customary social forms. Two fraternal groups, the Masons and Odd Fellows, organized chapters in the city during 1868. Masons who had moved to Cheyenne petitioned H. M. Teller, the Grand Master of Colorado, for a dispensation and were allowed to form a lodge in February. Teller visited Cheyenne in April; while he felt that "the inhabitants . . . were as yet quite unsettled," he did

¹⁰⁶ June 6, 1868.

¹⁰⁷ Leader, January 8, May 4, 1868.

think that "there was suitable material to support a good lodge at this point."¹⁰⁸ A Young Men's Christian Association, with a constitution which "differs but little from those of similar Associations in the east," was formed in the fall of 1868.¹⁰⁹ While the group reported a membership of 165, it failed to become an active force in the community during these early years. The traditional national organizations, the Irish Fenian Society and the German Turnverein, quickly made their appearance. Their balls became social events of importance for the entire community.¹¹⁰

Masquerade balls sponsored by the hotels were popular forms of diversion. One of these events, with its variety of costumes and styles, proved to the Leader's satisfaction that "Cheyenne Folks can keep pace with even those of Eastern cities in style and taste."¹¹¹ A major reason for the "style and taste" of the early social events was the presence of Fort Russell; the army officers often entertained "most of Cheyenne society" and were in turn present at any social events of any importance in the city.¹¹² The

¹⁰⁸ Alfred James Mokler, History of Freemasonry in Wyoming (Chicago, 1924), p. 49.

¹⁰⁹ Leader, November 27, 1868.

¹¹⁰ Leader, March 20, April 23, December 1, 1868.

¹¹¹ February 29, 1868.

¹¹² Lucy Ellen Gannett, Lucy's Girlhood Days (Denver, n.d.), pp. 5-6. Mrs. Gannett was a daughter of James R.

Fort Russell band became an established fixture at social events in the city, entertaining at masonic festivals, Fourth of July celebrations, and most other public events.

The frontier sporting activities which later became popular in Cheyenne were unknown in the early city as residents enjoyed the traditionally popular baseball, boxing, and billiards. The Magic Base Ball Club of Cheyenne considered itself good enough to challenge any competitor to a game in Cheyenne for a prize of \$500.¹¹³ Several prize fights were reported in the press, but billiards received the greatest coverage. One match, for a stake of \$500, was given a shot-by-shot account which took up three and one-half columns of the Leader's front page.¹¹⁴

While sports enlisted popular support, intellectual stimulation was not entirely ignored. A "Young Men's Literary Society" was organized in November, 1867, and was given the right to meet in City Hall one evening a week.¹¹⁵ The first meeting featured a "spicy debate" on the topic: "That the financial condition of the country renders it both justifiable and expedient to repudiate the national

Whitehead. She said that their home was always thrown open in true southern style on any important occasion and that army officers usually attended. Leader, March 5, July 3, 1868.

¹¹³Leader, April 3, 6, 1868.

¹¹⁴Leader, October 22, 1867; January 15, 1868.

¹¹⁵City Council, Minutes, December 2, 1867.

debt."¹¹⁶ While the younger members of the society complained that the elderly men who were established speakers monopolized the meeting, the society continued to draw considerable interest.¹¹⁷ The major papers were printed in full in the Leader and reflect not only subjects of current interest but also the prevalent philosophy of the West. An example is a paper by Dr. E. H. Russell entitled, "Have an aim in life." In the true Gilded Age fashion, Russell maintained that "money is the propelling power in every movement. . . . It is the mainspring of life. . . . A man without capital is poorly fitted to perform his part in the great drama of life."¹¹⁸

The social and cultural institutions familiar to the established parts of the country, thus, were quickly transported to this frontier city. The disorganized state of this frontier society certainly tended to weaken these institutions, but there appears to be little evidence to support Walter Prescott Webb's assertion that the Great Plains environment changed the traditional customs and institutions to the extent that a "new phase of Aryan civilization" was developed.¹¹⁹ Socially, as well as economi-

¹¹⁶ Leader, December 7, 1867.

¹¹⁷ Leader, December 12, 1867.

¹¹⁸ Leader, December 26, 1867.

¹¹⁹ Walter Prescott Webb, The Great Plains: A Study in Institutions and Environment (Boston, 1931), pp. vi, 8.

cally and politically, Cheyenne's development can best be characterized as colonial. Imitation rather than innovation was the rule.

PART II

THE WANING OF A BOOM TOWN, 1869-1874.

CHAPTER IV

THE BASIS OF ECONOMIC SURVIVAL

The feverish activity and optimism of Cheyenne's founding and early growth gradually subsided after the railroad construction crews left the vicinity in the spring of 1868. The artificially high population of the first winter diminished to 2,305 by the autumn of 1869 and to a disturbingly low 1,450 in the spring of 1870.¹ Fears that the city might decline to the status of an unimportant way station on the Union Pacific, or even another ghost town, haunted the thoughts of those who remained. In their desperation, residents looked in either of two directions. The tendency to rely on the Union Pacific was still strong. An example of this attitude was a local editor's assertion that the city "directly and indirectly" received "its life and support" from the railroad.² On the other hand, a growing realization that local efforts were necessary to insure economic survival led to several attempts at independent action.³

¹Marie H. Erwin, Wyoming Historical Blue Book, A Legal and Political History of Wyoming, 1868-1943 (Denver, 1946), pp. 162-63.

²Weekly Rocky Mountain News (Cheyenne), May 22, 1872.

³One such attempt will be discussed more fully in the following chapter.

The Union Pacific's importance to the city developed in other directions than Cheyenne's residents might have expected. While the completion of the railroad to the west opened new markets for the city's merchants, Cheyenne did not become a major railroad town. This was partly due to the nature of the Union Pacific's operations in the sparsely populated West, best described in a report of the government directors of the railroad in 1878:

In the traffic which the Union Pacific is called upon to accommodate there is little which requires frequent or expensive handling; that is, the business, both freight and passenger, through and local, whether originating and ending on the line of the road or not, is usually carried long distances; so that none of the complicated movement and frequent interchange of trains is required which is usual on Eastern roads. This, of course, necessitates no such elaborate and costly arrangement of tracks, sidings, yards, buildings and general appliances as is found upon roads with much smaller traffic in other portions of the country. . . . The Union Pacific at present requires only those accommodations necessary for doing a business of the simplest known character.⁴

Because most traffic was "through traffic," there was virtually no break in transportation which might necessitate warehouses, elaborate financial facilities or a large number of employees. Yet several cities along the railroad had relatively extensive machine shops and other types of repair shops. Of these, Omaha was the most important, followed by Laramie (which also received a huge rail

⁴U.S., Congress, Senate, Reports of the Government Directors of the Union Pacific Railroad Company, 1864-1886, 49th Cong., 1st Sess., 1886, Exec. Doc. 69, p. 139.

rerolling mill in 1875), North Platte, and Rawlins. But Cheyenne was not to benefit from repair shops until after 1875, and even then the company's operations were limited in Cheyenne compared with those in the towns just mentioned. All of these had more men employed in the railroad shops.⁵ In addition to being a minor repair center, Cheyenne's position in the traffic department was also minimal. For example, in 1870 the census listed 19 transport and 19 maintenance workers as residents of the city, while 86 transport and 85 maintenance employees lived in Laramie.⁶

While the company did not make the city a major railroad center, the company was important as a source of municipal finances. Taxes of the railroad's right of way, track, and rolling stock in the county provided revenue for local law enforcement and schools. The company was the largest taxpayer, although it did not become so willingly. In 1869 the company obtained injunctions in district court preventing county officers from collecting the assessed taxes in spite of Grenville Dodge's warning to company officials:

We have never paid taxes west of Douglas Co. [Nebraska] and we are getting into trouble, as well as getting the people down on us and they will be heard from. At

⁵ Senate, Report of the Government Directors . . . 1864-1886, pp. 73-74.

⁶ U.S., Bureau of the Census, Ninth Census of the United States, 1870, Wyoming Schedules (National Archives, Washington).

Cheyenne we can pay up by purchase of scrip at about 7
40 or 50 cents on the dollar. The assessment is fair.

The territorial supreme court finally disallowed further injunctions, and taxes amounting to about \$17,000 in Laramie County in 1869 were paid.⁸ This figure constituted slightly over one-third of all taxes paid in the county. By 1872 the company had evidently accepted the situation, for the Leader commented on the company's "liberality in the payment of taxes."⁹

The city also depended on the company for support in other, perhaps less direct ways. It was largely the company's influence in Washington that led to the organization of Wyoming Territory, and it was on the company's advice that Cheyenne was originally chosen as the capital of the new Territory. The Union Pacific had been responsible for the location of the army post near the city. Company-sponsored publicity about the possibilities of stock growing in the vicinity of the city stimulated the coming of outside investment and population.

Despite this benevolent paternalism, residents of

⁷ Grenville M. Dodge to Oliver Ames, July 2, 1869, Grenville M. Dodge Papers (Iowa State Department of History and Archives, Des Moines), box 338.

⁸ Leader, March 18, December 22, 1869. Wyoming Tribune (Cheyenne), December 25, 1869.

⁹ September 1, 1872. The Union Pacific's portion of taxes is compiled from Laramie County, Treasurer, Assessment Rolls and Tax Lists, 1868-1874 (Wyoming State Archives and Historical Department, Cheyenne).

Cheyenne increasingly became hostile towards the company. A lengthy dispute over the ownership of the townsite accounts for some of this hostility, but more important was the company's indifference to building up local traffic. Unlike railroad companies such as the Illinois Central which actively aided local communities in hopes of stimulating local traffic,¹⁰ the Union Pacific's management, still thinking in terms of a transcontinental road through a desert, consistently concentrated on through traffic. For example, the company's freight earnings from June, 1871, to June, 1872, increased by over \$1,000,000 from the previous year, but only about \$176,000 of the increase was on local freight. The government-appointed directors of the railroad attributed this lack of interest in the local situation to the system of remote management. All executive power was held in New York and Boston, and heads of departments, local managers, and freight agents had little or no authority.¹¹

From the viewpoint of residents, however, the company was not regarded as a monolithic structure. A definite distinction was made between the despotism of the company's eastern management and the friendship of local officials, especially Grenville Dodge. Dodge was considered a warm

¹⁰Paul W. Gates, The Illinois Central Railroad and its Colonization Work (Cambridge, Mass., 1934), pp. 125-26.

¹¹Senate, Reports of the Government Directors . . . 1864-1886, p. 71.

friend of the city; in fact, Cheyenne was often referred to as "General Dodge's town." When in difficulty, the city usually sought Dodge's advice and influence. If Dodge's promises of railroad shops did not materialize, the company's eastern management was usually blamed. For example, the company had begun foundations for machine and repair shops in Cheyenne in 1868 but had not completed them. According to the Leader, these unfinished buildings "have stood like a scare-crow . . . frightening away people who might be looking for a new location," and were a fitting "monument of [the] faithless promises to the people of Cheyenne."¹² Another example was the company management's assurance to the city in 1873 that "an extensive rolling mill and smelting furnace would soon be erected in Cheyenne for the re-rolling and manufacture of rails."¹³ About a year later this complex was built in Cheyenne's aspiring rival, Laramie.¹⁴

These broken promises accentuated a growing local feeling against the company. Residents resented their dependent relationship with the company. But there was a bright side to this aspect of city-company relations. As in cities throughout the country, public reaction to the

¹²October 1, 1874.

¹³Leader, September 29, 1873.

¹⁴Leader, July 6, September 7, 1874.

policies of a great corporation resulted in a growing sense of community.¹⁵ Local rivalries were sometimes submerged as the fledgling city made efforts to act independently.

In several important instances, however, the interests of the city and the company coincided. This was particularly the case in regard to the organization of Wyoming Territory. Cheyenne's residents hoped to form a separate Territory where the city could play a dominant role, for the arrangement which had temporarily tied their region to Dakota Territory was obviously unsatisfactory. Not only had Dakota's territorial officials shown a complete lack of interest in the large western appendage to their Territory (for they hoped to rid themselves of it), but they had also left Cheyenne virtually unrepresented in the territorial legislature at Yankton. Cheyenne's residents, therefore, took action to use every possible ally to achieve their ends. Aware of the company's influence with the federal government, the city's residents tended to look to it to represent them in Washington. The company did not have to be persuaded. The virtual lack of civil authority in the country traversed by its rails had already convinced them that separate territorial organization for the region was absolutely necessary.¹⁶

¹⁵ Blake McKelvey, The Urbanization of America, 1860-1915 (New Brunswick, N.J., 1963), p. 18.

¹⁶ Wallace Farnham, "'The Weakened Spring of Government': A Study in Nineteenth Century American History," American Historical Review, LXVIII (April, 1963), 669. The

Company officials who thus lobbied did so on two levels: as representatives of the city of Cheyenne and as representatives of a company engaged in a great national endeavor with a good case for receiving every consideration from the federal government.

Cheyenne's residents had begun their efforts to have a new Territory organized almost from the moment of the city's birth. Like Denver, which had sent a special representative to Washington in 1860 to press for the organization of Colorado Territory,¹⁷ Cheyenne's residents elected J. S. Casement in October, 1867, to represent the city in Washington. The expressed purpose was to win separate territorial organization with Cheyenne as capital.¹⁸ Casement's close association with the Union Pacific as contractor for much of the construction would perhaps bring to bear the powers of the corporation upon Congress. Casement testified before the House Committee on Territories and residents generally regarded his efforts as one of the factors which led to the

area which became Wyoming in 1869 was popularly known as such at least as early as 1866 when it was still "temporarily attached" to Dakota Territory. Soon after Cheyenne was founded in 1867, the name Wyoming was used by the newspapers on their title pages for it was believed to be merely a matter of time before Congress agreed to allow separate territorial organization.

¹⁷ Clyde L. King, The History of the Government of Denver with Special Reference to its Relations with Public Service Corporations (Denver, 1911), pp. 25-28.

¹⁸ Leader, October 10, 12, 1867.

eventual passage of a territorial bill.¹⁹

Cheyenne's ambitions, however, went beyond the relatively unwanted portion of Dakota Territory. Wishing to build a rich and powerful territory for itself, Cheyenne hoped to attach the fertile agricultural valleys of northern Colorado to its proposed territory. Many in Colorado considered Cheyenne's threat a serious one. The Colorado Miner warned its readers of the "influence that the Union Pacific Railroad Company can bring to bear in effecting a division of this Territory in order to add to the importance of its town, Cheyenne."²⁰

The Denver Tribune bluntly posed the question: "Need we ask which party would carry the most influence in Congress--Colorado or Wyoming, . . . We haven't the money to buy our case; nor a railroad to back us in our views and necessities."²¹ Cheyenne's press joined in the city's campaign, attempting to convince residents of northern Colorado that it was to their advantage to become:

allied to a commercial city that has wheels by the thousands and tens of thousands, and keeps them rattling away with the ceaseless activities of a vigorous commerce, rather than become the fulcrum for some state lever, to elevate this sleepy Cherry Creek settlement [Denver] from its supine position.²²

¹⁹ W. W. Corlett, "The Founding of Cheyenne," Cheyenne, 1885 (Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley), p. 18.

²⁰ Quoted by Leader, November 12, 1867.

²¹ Quoted by Leader, October 31, 1867.

²² Leader, November 12, 1867.

But Colorado struck back. Cheyenne's bid, if successful, would ruin Colorado's chances for statehood in the near future. Colorado's representatives in Washington apparently began circulating among Congressmen a petition purporting to carry the signature of 1,600 residents of Cheyenne desiring annexation of the city to Colorado. Grenville Dodge, in Washington on company business, immediately wired Casement, who had returned to Cheyenne, about the sudden turn of events. The city was indignant at the news. A large public meeting was quickly called at which several speakers vigorously denied the authenticity of the petition, charging it was a forgery perpetrated by interests desiring Colorado statehood. Casement hastily left for Washington the next morning to counteract Colorado's measures.²³

In the spring of 1868, because of the pressure of construction, Casement asked Cheyenne's officials to choose another representative to argue their case in Washington. Again residents called on someone connected with the Union Pacific, Dr. Hiram Latham, the company surgeon. Local businessmen contributed to the cost of his trip to Washington. As "Agent of the People of Wyoming," Latham took with him a memorial drawn up by J. R. Whitehead, N. A. Baker, and others asking for immediate territorial organization. Although

²³ Cheyenne, City Council, Minutes of Meetings, December 5, 1867 (Wyoming State Archives and Historical Department, Cheyenne). Leader, December 7, 30, 1867.

Latham had no official status, he was given the opportunity to speak to the House Committee on Territories.²⁴ During the time that the representatives of Cheyenne were lobbying in Washington, their case was probably strengthened by the action of the Dakota legislature which, anxious to be rid of the yoke of administering this large addition to its Territory, also sent memorials to Congress supporting Cheyenne's bid.²⁵

Probably the most effective pressure for territorial organization, however, came from the influence of company officials such as Grenville Dodge in Washington. At any rate, the bill organizing the Territory was finally passed in the summer of 1868 over the objections of those who argued that the population in the region was only temporary and would disappear with the end of railroad construction. The new Territory would be basically comprised of the area temporarily attached to Dakota Territory in 1864. The bid for part of Colorado does not seem to have been taken seriously.²⁶

Indeed, Colorado's continued attempts to become a

²⁴ Memorial printed in C. G. Coutant, The History of Wyoming (Laramie, 1899), p. 624. Leader, April 18, 20, June 10, 1868. T. A. Larson, History of Wyoming (Lincoln, 1965), p. 66.

²⁵ Dakota Territory, Session Laws of the Seventh Legislative Assembly, 1867-1868 (Yankton, 1868), p. 286. Larson, History of Wyoming, p. 65.

²⁶ Larson, History of Wyoming, p. 66.

state threatened Wyoming's separate existence until Colorado finally achieved statehood in 1876. Late in 1872 President Grant supported a proposal to dismember Wyoming because it had failed to build up a substantial population. The southeastern portion, where Cheyenne was located, would be attached to Colorado. Cheyenne's residents appeared united in the opposition to the scheme. At a public meeting chaired by J. R. Whitehead, the "business and working men" of the community drafted a memorial to Congress protesting the proposal.²⁷ When the question was raised again a year later, opinion was more divided with even the Leader speculating about the benefits of Cheyenne becoming part of Colorado. Surveyor-General Silas Reed probably spoke for the majority, however, when he insisted that "Cheyenne would go to the dogs under such auspices."²⁸

The passing of an organic act creating Wyoming Territory in 1868 had not automatically led to territorial government for Wyoming. Open hostility between President Andrew Johnson and the Radical Republicans who controlled Congress, sparked by the question of reconstructing the southern states, resulted in the Senate's refusal to confirm the territorial officials Johnson appointed for Wyoming. As a consequence,

²⁷ Larson, History of Wyoming, p. 120. Leader, December 19, 1872.

²⁸ Leader, January 3, 1874. Larson, History of Wyoming, p. 120.

Wyoming did not become a Territory until after the inauguration of U. S. Grant as President in March, 1869. Then new territorial officials were quickly appointed and confirmed. "The agony is over," exclaimed the Leader.²⁹ The first steps toward effective civil jurisdiction had been taken.

A great deal of local agitation preceded President Grant's appointment of territorial officials. Republican party leaders in the several new railroad towns of the proposed Territory sent lists of recommendations to Washington.³⁰ While these territorial residents, like most Westerners, feared being saddled with "old tricksters and political scabs" from the East,³¹ local advantage within the Territory also motivated these demands. Cheyenne's politicians were determined to have someone from the city appointed governor, believing this would insure the choice of Cheyenne as the capital. Particularly distressing, however, were rumors that Judge J. A. Carter of Fort Bridger (in the extreme western portion of the Territory) would be appointed. Carter might not choose Cheyenne, for, although it was the largest city,

²⁹Leader, September 12, November 12, 1868; March 6, 1869. Coutant, The History of Wyoming, pp. 625-27. Frances B. Beard, Wyoming From Territorial Days to the Present (Chicago, 1933), pp. 196-207.

³⁰See, for example, B. J. Wolff to Andrew Johnson, July 25, 1868, and E. P. Snow to W. H. Seward, August 8, 1868, U.S., Department of State, Territorial Papers, Wyoming Series (National Archives, Washington).

³¹Leader, November 17, 1867.

it was located in the extreme southeastern corner of the vast, new Territory. Cities to the west, such as Laramie and Rawlins, could claim to be more centrally located. Cheyenne's residents, therefore, took action in a direction best calculated to be effective by asking Dodge, the city's perennial patron saint, to support the city's bid for the capital:

We want it here as I presume you do. I hope you will see to this and if possible avert it [Judge Carter's appointment]. We prefer a man from here but at all events the Capital.³²

Although Cheyenne was unsuccessful in having a local man appointed as territorial governor, the city was nevertheless chosen as the temporary capital by an Easterner, John A. Campbell, the first governor. This action was later approved by the First Legislative Assembly. Campbell apparently made his choice on the advice of Grenville Dodge,³³ an indication that the new administration recognized the facts of life in the new Territory. The Union Pacific was obviously the most effective force in Wyoming, even more important than the federal government.³⁴ Campbell summed

³² L. L. Bedell to Dodge, May 28, 1868, Dodge Papers, box 15.

³³ Wyoming Territory, "Proclamations of J. A. Campbell, Governor," Session Laws of the First Legislative Assembly, 1869 (Cheyenne, 1870), p. 4. Campbell to Dodge, May 20, 1869, Dodge Papers, box 16.

³⁴ C. Howe to Dodge, December 27, 1869, and Campbell to Dodge, May 20, 1869, Dodge Papers, box 16. Farnham, American Historical Review, LXVIII, 670-71.

up his administration's attitude to the company in his message to the First Legislative Assembly:

For the first time in the history of our country the organization of a Territorial government was rendered necessary by the building of a railroad. . . .It is our duty to shape our action in all the departments of the Territorial government so as to assist in carrying out the object which the Government and the proprietors and builders of the road had in view.³⁵

The respect which territorial officials showed for the Union Pacific tended to increase the company's influence over local affairs. But the interests of a large company often did not coincide with the political desires of either local officials or residents, nor was the company's position and power always used with discretion. Governor Campbell, who tried to find a common ground between "the interests of the people and of the great corporation," sometimes complained bitterly of the "absurd interference on the part of Railroad officials who know nothing whatever concerning the political issues of this Territory."³⁶ In 1870 he warned Grenville Dodge that public opposition to the company's seemingly absolute political control was "beginning to manifest itself in this town."³⁷

³⁵ Wyoming Territory, Message of Governor Campbell to the First Legislative Assembly of Wyoming Territory at Cheyenne, October 12, 1869 (Cheyenne, 1869), p. 10.

³⁶ Campbell to G. M. Pullman, July 21, 1872, Wyoming Territory, Governor John A. Campbell's Letter Press Books, Vol. I (Wyoming State Archives and Historical Department, Cheyenne).

³⁷ Campbell to Dodge, July 20, 1870, Dodge Papers, box 17.

In spite of the close identification of the territorial officials with the interests of the company, most Cheyenne residents regarded the coming of territorial government with pleasure. The city, having been chosen as the new capital, gained prestige as well as economic advantage over rivals in the Territory. As the territorial capital, it would now tend to grow simply because it was the capital, the center of administration and government expenditure.³⁸

In addition, Cheyenne gained by becoming the home of the new territorial officials. Some of them, such as J. M. Carey and J. A. Campbell, were men of ability and energy who would not have come out to the new Territory as private citizens. As individuals they not only introduced eastern administrative methods and close connections with the national political parties, but transported eastern social customs and traditions.³⁹

The company's influence over the city's fortunes, evident in the coming of territorial government, was even more apparent in the rise or fall of the city's economic

³⁸Through the salaries of the territorial officials (eight in 1870), the federal government was now a direct source of local well-being, although not nearly to the extent that this was the case in Dakota Territory, for example, where government and politics were the "largest industry." Howard R. Lamar, Dakota Territory, 1861-1889, A Study of Frontier Politics (New Haven, [1956] 1966).

³⁹Earl Pomeroy, "Toward a Reorientation of Western History: Continuity and Environment," MVHR, XLI (March, 1955), 583.

prosperity. The construction of the railroad westward, combined with favorable rates in that direction between 1868 and 1871, gave Cheyenne's merchants the chance to establish a wide market in western Wyoming and northern Colorado. Also of benefit to Cheyenne's merchants was the continued isolation of Denver's merchants, for Denver had not yet completed its railroad outlets to the East. Cheyenne's commercial leaders made the most of their momentary advantage. One western traveller, impressed with the amount of goods shipped from Cheyenne to the Sweetwater and northern Colorado mining districts, referred to Cheyenne as the "Denver of these northern mining districts."⁴⁰

The most aggressive of the large wholesale firms was that of A. R. Converse, later Converse and Warren. Starting as a grocer during the fall of 1867, Converse soon moved into furniture and household goods.⁴¹ By 1869 he was shipping large amounts of furniture from his "immense warehouses" to dealers in western Wyoming and northern Colorado despite the prevailing "dull times" and a "temporary lull in business" which characterized Cheyenne's economic scene.⁴² For example,

⁴⁰ William A. Bell, New Tracks in North America (New York, 1870), p. 485. Sweetwater Mines (South Pass City), January 9, 1869.

⁴¹ A. R. Converse Books, November 21, 1867, Warren Collection (Western History Research Center, University of Wyoming, Laramie). Leader, February 26, 1868.

⁴² Leader, June 23, July 15, 1869.

during 1869 he supplied five merchants with merchandise in South Pass City in the Sweetwater gold fields, and was shipping furniture to Denver, Central City, and Georgetown in Colorado. By 1870 merchants from as far west as Corinne, Utah, and as far south as Pueblo, Colorado, were purchasing goods from his warehouses.⁴³ Late in 1871 Converse sold a half interest in his firm to a dynamic young clerk, Francis E. Warren, who had started to work for him in June, 1868.⁴⁴ The two men had been neighbors in Hinsdale, Massachusetts, before Converse came to Cheyenne and Warren became foreman of a construction crew on the Rock Island Railroad west of Des Moines, Iowa. According to Warren, Converse "was in poor health and wanted a manager in whom he could place confidence," and repeatedly begged him to come to Cheyenne.⁴⁵ Warren quickly demonstrated his ability in business and public leadership which eventually led to the governor's chair and the United States Senate. The firm of Converse and Warren was soon reputed to be the largest of its kind between Omaha and Salt Lake City, supplying much of this vast territory with furniture, china, glass, and other house furnishings.⁴⁶ In spite

⁴³ A. R. Converse Books.

⁴⁴ A. R. Converse Books, June 15, 1868. Converse to T. D. Conway, January 5, 1872, Converse and Warren Letters, Warren Collection.

⁴⁵ Interview with Warren, Salt Lake Tribune, December 2, 1917, copy in Warren Scrapbook, No. 24, Warren Collection.

⁴⁶ Leader, February 2, 1872.

of depressed conditions in Cheyenne, the firm was prosperous enough to consider opening a branch in Salt Lake City in 1872.⁴⁷

Cheyenne's lucrative trade with Denver and northern Colorado, however, began to decline with the completion of both the Denver Pacific and the Kansas Pacific railroads to Denver by 1871. No longer were Denver merchants forced to rely on Cheyenne middlemen or on wagon trains to deliver goods from the Union Pacific. Denver now had direct railroad connections with the eastern centers, and with two railroads, competitive rates. By 1872, the "Queen City of the Plains" had reasserted her commercial hegemony over other Colorado towns.

The collapse of Cheyenne's advantageous position, which the nature of the railroad system temporarily had given the city, was a serious set-back to the community's ambitions. In addition, in 1872, Cheyenne became the victim of rivalry between the Union Pacific and the Kansas Pacific. The situation symbolized the vulnerable position of a small city which depended upon a railroad but was powerless to influence it in any way. The Kansas Pacific's only outlet to the Pacific was via the Denver Pacific and the Union Pacific west of Cheyenne. The Union Pacific did its best to hamper its rival's traffic and substantially increased freight rates west of Cheyenne in comparison to through rates. As a result, merchants

⁴⁷Converse to C. L. Dolson, January 4, 1872, Converse and Warren Letters.

in larger centers such as Omaha and Chicago, as well as those to the west in California shipping over the Central Pacific, were able to win Cheyenne's former markets.⁴⁸ Not surprisingly, Cheyenne's residents failed to appreciate the economic necessity of the Union Pacific's action. The Leader echoed the community's reaction:

The company . . . [has] done all in its power to injure the business prosperity of Cheyenne, by outrageous and discriminating freight and passenger tariffs west of this city, which have virtually stopped our intercourse with the people in that direction to the advantage of Omaha and Chicago merchants. The railroad company has thus been a curse to this community.⁴⁹

As the Union Pacific's monopoly of transportation west of the city was virtually complete, Cheyenne's businessmen could do little to offset the company's policies in that direction. Ironically, the same railroad which ruined Cheyenne's position in relation to northern Colorado was also to provide the city with an alternate route to the East. The completion of the Kansas Pacific to Denver allowed Cheyenne's merchants to deal directly with Chicago via Denver and Kansas City without using the Union Pacific. The Leader concluded that the "very life-blood would ere this have been taken from our body politic," if it had not been for this rather indirect alternate outlet to the East.⁵⁰ The same experience

⁴⁸ Warren to P. McKay, September 20, 1872, Converse and Warren Letters.

⁴⁹ June 18, 1873.

⁵⁰ June 18, 1873.

was borne out elsewhere in the country. Cities with only one railroad line tended to decline, while those with two lines and the resulting competitive rates absorbed the growth of a region. The correlation between rates and growth is illustrated by the cities and towns in Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota. Those with competitive rates won the entire increase of population of their states between 1870 and 1890, while those centers with only one railroad declined.⁵¹

The value of a second line to the East soon was spelled out to Cheyenne's merchants. Converse and Warren began routing their shipments of furniture from Cincinnati, St. Louis, Pittsburgh, and other eastern points over the Kansas Pacific.⁵² The Union Pacific, in an attempt to regain some of this trade, granted the firm a rebate of 15% to 17% on published rates during 1874. This practice, however, evidently was discontinued, for Warren was again directing dealers to ship via the Kansas Pacific by the fall of 1874.⁵³ A St. Louis manufacturer who inadvertently sent a carload of furniture on the Union Pacific instead of the Kansas Pacific was vigorously upbraided; freight on the shipment

⁵¹Adna Ferrin Weber, The Growth of Cities in the Nineteenth Century (Ithaca, [1899] 1963), p. 199.

⁵²Warren to Mishawaka Furniture Company, March 26, 1872, Converse and Warren Letters.

⁵³Warren to E. P. Vining, March 12, 18, 1874, Converse and Warren Letters.

was \$55.56 whereas it would only have been about \$29 over the Kansas Pacific.⁵⁴ Eastern dealers were constantly reminded that "we are far off," and "have to pay outrageous freights over western roads."⁵⁵ Discriminatory freight rates over the Union Pacific ultimately forced Cheyenne to use a method common in communities during the 1870's, an organized boycott of the offending route and a reliance on the indirect but cheaper route.⁵⁶ By early 1875 the Leader reported that "the major part of the businessmen of Cheyenne [had taken] counsel together," and decided to patronize the Kansas Pacific exclusively.⁵⁷ In an effort to remain competitive, the Union Pacific cut its rates drastically from Omaha to Cheyenne. The result was a series of rate wars until the Union Pacific took over control of the Kansas Pacific in 1878.

Another area of city-company relations directly affected the city's prosperity: the question of who owned the townsite. This issue, which concerned the company's right to sell town lots, was thought by one local newspaper-

⁵⁴ Warren to unnamed St. Louis company, October 7, 1874, Converse and Warren Letters.

⁵⁵ Warren to Mishawaka Furniture Company, March 26, 1872, Converse and Warren Letters.

⁵⁶ See, for example, Lee Benson, Merchants, Farmers, and Railroads: Railroad Regulation and New York Politics, 1850-1887 (Cambridge, Mass., 1955), pp. 66-68, 78-79.

⁵⁷ February 27, 1875.

man to have retarded the city's economic growth "more than all else put together."⁵⁸ Although the company was granted twenty alternate sections (odd numbered) of land for each mile of track constructed, no surveys of the territory had been made when the railroad was constructed through the townsite in 1867. The railroad had sold lots in the city even though it was by no means certain the townsite was located on an odd-numbered section granted to the company. A solution was not possible until the establishment of a land office and the start of territorial surveys in 1870,

The army at Fort Russell had insured the company's control during 1867 and 1868 by forcibly removing squatters who challenged the company's right to the townsite.⁵⁹ By 1869, however, the army was unable to prevent much of the townsite being "jumped" when it became publicly known that the company had failed to register the townsite in the office of the federal land commissioner.⁶⁰ This further complicated an already confused situation. Not only might the town be located on an even-numbered section and therefore be subject to homesteading or pre-emption by settlers

⁵⁸ Wyoming Tribune, March 18, 1871.

⁵⁹ See p. 32.

⁶⁰ Jas. B. Wilson to D. B. Ball, March 20, 1868, U.S., Department of the Interior, Records of the General Land Office, Division F: Railroad, Right of Way and Reclamation (National Archives, Washington). S. H. Winsor to J. M. Eddy, December 29, 1869, Dodge Papers, box 159.

but the company might not own the site even if it were located on an odd-numbered section. If either were to be the case, the company's sales of lots were illegal. Governor Campbell reported that it was becoming impossible to keep possession of a lot purchased or received from the company unless it was securely fenced.⁶¹

The community was by no means united in what action should be taken against the railroad company. Several of the most influential residents believed it necessary to compromise with the company to find a way out of the impasse before the city declined even further. This attitude was endorsed at a public meeting at McDaniel's Theater in February, 1870. J. R. Whitehead, A. R. Converse, and several others were named to a committee to draw up resolutions to this effect and the company's general agent for town lots, J. M. Eddy, was invited to a public meeting to discuss a compromise solution. By its resolutions the committee recognized the Union Pacific's right to the townsite and repudiated those who had seized company lots. The company was requested, however, to lower its lot prices and to donate lots for territorial, county, and city purposes.⁶² Eddy, recognizing the committee and the public meeting as representative of the city's residents, pledged the company to

⁶¹Campbell to Dodge, November 17, 1869, Wyoming, Governor Campbell's Letter Press Books, Vol. I.

⁶²Leader, February 21, 1870.

the following policies: quit claims deeds, the only title the company could give until the federal government validated the company's rights, would be issued if second payments on lots would be made within thirty days; third payments would be waived; the company would donate four blocks for the city's use, and one each for territorial and county purposes.⁶³

The matter appeared to be settled, especially after surveys determined that most of the townsite was located on an odd-numbered section (thirty-one) and was, therefore, one of the sections granted the company. But city officials, led by Trustee George W. Corey, refused to accept the agreement made with the company. On the grounds that the Union Pacific had never registered the townsite with any land office (evidently planning to wait until the completion of surveys to claim their odd-numbered sections) city officials insisted that the Townsite Acts of 1867 and 1868 applied to the case. According to these acts, authorities of incorporated towns could purchase townsites at the minimum land prices if the land belonged to the federal government.⁶⁴ The city's

⁶³ J. M. Eddy to S. H. Winsor, February 21, 1870, printed in Wyoming Tribune, March 19, 1870. Eddy to Winsor, March 3, 1870, printed in Wyoming Tribune, March 19, 1870. These lots were in addition to those already given to territorial officials and, as was the custom with many railroad companies, to the various religious organizations.

⁶⁴ City Council, Minutes, July 14, 1870. U.S., Congressional Globe, 39th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1867, p. 237.

major newspapers spoke for many residents in questioning the wisdom of council's intention to grab land which by right, if perhaps not technically, belonged to the company. The Leader thought it dangerous to antagonize the Union Pacific; it "comes pretty near carrying the people in its pocket."⁶⁵ The fledgling Wyoming Tribune argued that it would be better to have the question decided in favor of the railroad than have the matter remain in its "present unsettled condition."⁶⁶ It agreed with the Leader; there was no point in alienating the company's officials for they "have it in their power to make this town, or to dwarf it forever."⁶⁷

In spite of these public misgivings, City Council insisted on pressing its claims. Hearings on the case were held before the Cheyenne Land Office in April 1871. The General Land Office in Washington made its decision on the basis of this information; as might have been expected, the Union Pacific's position was upheld. Although the company had not registered the townsite, its rights to the odd-numbered sections legally began when Grenville Dodge chose the line of the railroad through the townsite. City Council and those squatters who had pre-empted had no valid claims.

⁶⁵August 19, 1870.

⁶⁶February 11, 1871.

⁶⁷Wyoming Tribune, March 18, 1871.

It was possible, however, under the townsite act, for the city to claim those parts of the townsite located on even-numbered sections by applying to the Cheyenne Land Office. The case was appealed but with the same verdict.⁶⁸ Officials finally began the lengthy legal process of claiming the almost 700 acres of the townsite which fell on even-numbered sections for the minimum price of \$1.25 an acre. This land became city property early in 1875.⁶⁹

With the end of the legal wrangle, the Union Pacific put its lots back on the market in May, 1875. Business was brisk. The local town lot agent reported selling 119 lots for \$23,000 in the first three days at prices ranging from \$50 to \$200 per lot.⁷⁰ But unexplained delays in granting full title to lots continued to cause consternation. Until 1876 buyers had only receipts and the title remained with the company. Not only were transactions involving city real estate of questionable validity, but because of the continued uncertainty many businessmen hesitated to make improvements until they had full title to their

⁶⁸Willis Drummond to S. H. Winsor, October 13, 1871, U.S., Department of the Interior, Letters from the Commissioner of the General Land Office to the Cheyenne Land Office, 1870-1874 (Wyoming State Archives and Historical Department, Cheyenne). Also published in Leader, October 26, 1871.

⁶⁹City Council, Minutes, September 5, 19, 1873; January 30, February 27, 1874. S. H. Winsor to City Council, September 8, 1873, printed in Leader, September 15, 1873.

⁷⁰Leader, May 18, 20, 1875. Laramie Weekly Sentinel, May 24, 1875.

property.⁷¹

While an outside corporation could easily be regarded as a scape-goat for the city's economic problems, a decline was inevitable after the end of the railroad construction boom. Nor could the local depression of the early 1870's be attributed to the nationwide economic crisis. Because Cheyenne's economy was not yet as closely tied to the vicissitudes of the national market as were, for example, the Kansas cowtowns,⁷² Cheyenne's press could proudly report that "business continued as usual" at the city's two banks during the panic of 1873.⁷³ But money had been extremely scarce in the city since 1869. In 1871 the Leader found difficulty in collecting its weekly subscription of fifty cents: "We were told by more than one saloon proprietor, that fifty cents was more than he had taken in the entire day."⁷⁴

The economic difficulties of the city were evident in the unsuccessful efforts to maintain respectable public accommodations which might encourage transcontinental passengers to stop over in the city. The Dodge House, Rollins House, and Ford House were either in disrepair or being used

⁷¹Leader, October 20, 1875.

⁷²Robert Dykstra, "The Cattle Town Experience: Social Process and the Cattle Trading Centers, 1867-1885" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, State University of Iowa, 1964), pp. 95-96.

⁷³Leader, October 21, 1873.

⁷⁴April 19, 1871.

for some other purpose (the Dodge House had become the City and County Hospital). A \$30,000 hotel was planned by B. L. Ford of Denver in 1870 with the understanding that local businessmen would subsidize him. While almost \$4,000 was subscribed, little of this amount could be collected and Ford's scheme fell through until the coming of more prosperous years.⁷⁵ The Wyoming Tribune called for public action, "before we are further demoralized and the inference gone abroad that Cheyenne is really 'gone up.'"⁷⁶ In 1872 a group of citizens headed by Whitehead and Kuykendall hoped to build a \$20,000 hotel by selling stock to residents, but this attempt to stimulate economic recovery also fell through.⁷⁷ Many of Cheyenne's businesses, such as Freund and Company, one of the West's leading gunsmiths, were reported to "have removed to other fields which looked more inviting."⁷⁸ It is not surprising that under these circumstances some residents felt that Cheyenne would do better as part of Colorado.⁷⁹

The despair of these depressed years was somewhat alleviated by the rapid growth of the cattle industry near

⁷⁵ Leader, February 21, March 7, 1870; October 26, 1874.

⁷⁶ April 2, 1870.

⁷⁷ Leader, March 23, April 1, 1872.

⁷⁸ Leader, May 3, 1871; December 4, 1872.

⁷⁹ Leader, December 19, 1872; January 3, 1874. South Pass News, December 14, 1870.

the city. Because of Texas drives and natural reproduction, the number of cattle had increased greatly since the early, small-scale activity of 1867. The Leader estimated that 60,000 to 80,000 head of cattle were grazing within a 100 mile radius of the city in 1871.⁸⁰ This booming new industry was not only to give Wyoming "a real territorial status" and a start "on its growth toward statehood,"⁸¹ but it also enhanced Cheyenne's regional importance. By 1874 the city was said to have become, "by common consent . . . the headquarters for the west and northwestern range business."⁸² The extent to which a city could serve as a focal point for a supposedly rural industry was illustrated by the pattern of society which was evolving. Territorial officials reported that "owners generally live here in the city, while the herders occupy the ranches and watch over the stock."⁸³ Cheyenne, thus, never became a characteristic "cowtown" like Dodge City, Kansas, or Miles City, Montana, for it did not become a rendez-vous for drivers and herders, the colorful cowboys of the cattle West. Rather, Cheyenne served as the

⁸⁰ Leader, September 2, 12, 1871

⁸¹ Ernest Staples Osgood, The Day of the Cattleman (Chicago, [1929] 1957), p. 42.

⁸² John Clay, My Life on the Range (Chicago, 1924), p. 4.

⁸³ U.S., Congress, House, "Annual Report of the Surveyor-General, Wyoming Territory," Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 43rd Cong., 1st Sess., 1873, Exec. Doc.1, p. 247.

residence and administrative headquarters of the emerging cattle kings.

The early success of stockraising was due to local initiative and investment, but the publicity of Union Pacific and territorial officials helped make it an industry of major proportions. While the Union Pacific's eastern management remained remarkably indifferent to the possibilities of the cattle industry, local company officials led the region's promotional efforts. During 1870 Dr. Latham, the company surgeon, sent a series of letters to the Omaha Herald proclaiming the fact that cattle in the vicinity of Cheyenne were being successfully wintered without shelter and were subsisting on the grass of the plains. His letters were published in 1871 as Trans-Missouri Stock Raising: The Pasture Lands of North America, Winter Grazing, in hopes of attracting immigrants and capital to Wyoming.⁸⁴ Latham's office in Cheyenne and later in Laramie became the Territory's unofficial Chamber of Commerce. In 1873, for instance, he collected about \$300 from the city's businessmen in order to advertise the area's potential among Texas cattlemen and eastern capitalists, in the same way that Joseph McCoy had advertised Abilene, Kansas, on a larger scale during the winter of 1867-1868.⁸⁵

⁸⁴ (Omaha, 1871). Osgood, The Day of the Cattleman, p. 43.

⁸⁵ Leader, February 24, 1873. Joseph G. McCoy, Historic Sketches of the Cattle Trade of the West and Southwest (Columbus, Ohio, [1874] 1951), pp. 114-15, 202.

Territorial officials were also vocal about the region's stockraising potential. One of the most avid supporters was John W. Kingman, an associate justice of the territorial supreme court, who sent innumerable articles on the possibilities of sheep and cattle raising to the local press and carried on an extensive correspondence with interested parties. Local residents regarded the propaganda which poured from the pens of Kingman and Latham with a certain amount of skeptical good humor. During the severe winter of 1871, the Leader reported that starving stock was probably "subsisting on Latham's letters on winter grazing, and Kingman's essay on sheep culture."⁸⁶

Another territorial official to see the potential of the cattle business was the attorney general, Joseph M. Carey. After only several months of residence in Wyoming he wrote his brother in Philadelphia:

I know of nothing in which a man can so quickly and surely make a fortune. Were it not for the fact that I am a lawyer and desire to rise in my profession I would go into the business without a moment's hesitation.

A man with some capital that will stick to the business for five years, with but ordinary luck can be worth a hundred thousand dollars. I believe it to be a sure road to fortune.⁸⁷

Evidently on the basis of this optimism, Carey

⁸⁶ Leader, December 7, 1871.

⁸⁷ Carey to R. Davis Carey, October 24, 1869, Carey Collection (Western History Research Center, University of Wyoming, Laramie).

predicted a greater future for Cheyenne than did some of his colleagues. A scrap of paper in the Carey Collection dated June, 1870 (perhaps the record of a bet on the city's future growth), reads:

What is Cheyenne to be

Amos Steck Esq--will	have	3000	in five years	6000	10 years
Judge Jones	"	"	600	"	1000
E. D. Struck	"	"	1200	"	1500
J. M. Carey	"	"	6000		12000

When optimists looked for an example of a cattleman whose success could be publicized, they usually chose John Wesley Iliff. Latham felt that Iliff had "demonstrated to the world that we have winter grazing, and in so doing he has made a fortune."⁸⁸ Iliff's basic range was along Crow Creek where the high bluffs sheltered the finest grazing in the vicinity.⁸⁹ Rather than shipping cattle live over the railroad to Chicago, Iliff built his own slaughter house on Crow Creek and connected it to the line of the Denver Pacific Railroad by a branch line. Two carloads, or twenty tons of beef in the quarter, were shipped every day. He expected to ship 5,000 head of cattle to Chicago in this manner during 1870.⁹⁰ The practice of shipping beef dressed was soon abandoned, however, in favor of the simpler method of shipping

⁸⁸ Latham, Trans-Missouri Stock Raising . . ., p. 41.

⁸⁹ Latham, Trans-Missouri Stock Raising . . ., p. 41.

⁹⁰ Wyoming Tribune, January 8, 1870. Leader, January 3, 1870.

live cattle.⁹¹ Iliff usually maintained his herd's size at 12,000. As sales decreased his stock, he bought cattle from Texas drivers at Ogalalla, Nebraska (few drives came to Cheyenne directly), and crossed them with his Durham and Devon bulls.⁹² Iliff left Cheyenne in 1873 to reside in Denver, but he often returned to his original headquarters to supervise shipment of cattle to Chicago.⁹³

In addition to Iliff, ten other cattlemen were listed as Cheyenne residents in 1871 and many others lived near the city. Iliff's herd was by far the largest, but other cattlemen such as the Snyder brothers, with 5,000, were building up substantial herds. J. M. Carey, in partnership with his brother, was starting the nucleus of one of the Territory's great herds with 700 head.⁹⁴ As the size of herds near Cheyenne grew quickly, the shipping yards became one of the city's

⁹¹ Agnes Wright Spring, Seventy Years Cow Country (Cheyenne, 1942), p. 18.

⁹² House, "Annual Report of the Surveyor General, Wyoming Territory," Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1873, p. 364.

⁹³ Leader, February 7, May 19, 20, 1868; January 3, 1870; October 22, 1873; September 24, 1874. Agnes Wright Spring, "A Genius for Handling Cattle; John W. Iliff," When Grass was King, by Spring, Maurice Frink, and W. Turrentine Jackson (Boulder, 1958), p. 365. Mari Sandoz, The Cattlemen, From the Rio Grande across the Far Marias (New York, 1958), p. 98.

⁹⁴ U.S., Congress, House, "Annual Report of the Surveyor-General, Wyoming Territory," Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 42nd Cong., 2nd Sess., 1871, Exec. Doc. 1, p. 295.

most active spots. Two hundred and thirty carloads of cattle were shipped in twenty-five days in the fall of 1874. Each carload was estimated to be worth \$1,000.⁹⁵ With high prices and plentiful free grass, stockgrowers were soon reported to be "accumulating wealth at a more rapid rate than any other class of our citizens."⁹⁶

During this formative period of the cattle industry in the area, much of the expansion was financed by local investment. Money was extremely scarce and Cheyenne banks were reported to have occasionally charged as much as 3% per month interest on loans to cattlemen.⁹⁷ Some outside investment began to find its way into the area, however, either because of the national publicity or because of personal knowledge of the region by the investor. An example of the latter was Clarence King, the director of the United States Geological Exploration of the Fortieth Parallel. King invested over \$8,000 and formed a partnership with his former field assistant, N. R. Davis, who managed the ranch. Their ranch on Owl Creek called Stonehenge, was one of the most prosperous near the city.⁹⁸

⁹⁵ Leader, September 25, 1874.

⁹⁶ U.S., Congress, House, "Annual Report of the Surveyor General, Wyoming Territory," Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 44th Cong., 1st Sess., 1875, Exec. Doc. 1, p. 365.

⁹⁷ Harry Crane (ed.), Letters from Old Friends and Members of the Wyoming Stock Growers Association (Cheyenne, 1923), p. 27. Osgood, The Day of the Cattleman, p. 49.

⁹⁸ Contract, August 22, 1871, in N. R. Davis Papers,

In addition to becoming the home of many of the cattlemen, Cheyenne also became the industry's administrative headquarters. The earliest organization involving the cattle industry, the Wyoming Stock and Wool Growers Association was founded in Laramie in the spring of 1871, but was reconstituted as the Wyoming Stock Grazers Association with headquarters in Cheyenne by that fall.⁹⁹ This organization, promotional in nature, was dominated by Union Pacific and territorial officials. Among those active were Luther Fillmore, the superintendent of the western division of the Union Pacific, Dr. Latham, and Governor Campbell. The organization acted as a publicity agent for about a year and a half, with Dr. Latham its most active member.¹⁰⁰

Local cattlemen, however, felt the necessity of forming an organization which would take action against rustlers and also be able to organize systematic roundups. As Ernest Osgood has pointed out, the "characteristic frontier individualism" was succumbing to "the equally characteristic frontier need for group effort."¹⁰¹ The desire for effective

(State Historical Society of Colorado, Denver). Thurman Wilkins, Clarence King (New York, 1958), pp. 217-18.

⁹⁹ Wyoming Tribune, April 15, 1871. Larson, History of Wyoming, p. 169.

¹⁰⁰ Leader, October 27, 30, November 7, 14, 15, 1871; January 6, 21, February 3, 1873. Osgood, The Day of the Cattleman, p. 119. Spring, Seventy Years . . ., pp. 21-22.

¹⁰¹ Osgood, The Day of the Cattleman, p. 117.

group effort apparently was coupled with a desire for local autonomy. Union Pacific and territorial officials were not invited to attend the early meetings or to become members. Informal meetings at the county courthouse during the summer of 1873 led to the formal founding of an organization, the Laramie County Stock Growers Association, in Judge Kuykendall's office on November 29, 1873. A committee, comprised of most of the pioneer cattlemen of the district--H. M. Orr, T. A. Kent, John F. Coad, T. H. Durbin, A. H. Reel, and Kuykendall--was appointed to draw up rules and regulations and also suitable resolutions to be presented to the legislature then in session.¹⁰²

The legislature proved remarkably sympathetic and was to remain so during the height of the cattle boom. This appears to have been due to the fact that the legislators recognized that the interests of the Territory and the Association coincided.¹⁰³ The Association's membership quickly grew to twenty-five, partly because an increasing number of local residents were going into the cattle business, but also because local cattlemen saw the necessity of united

¹⁰² Minute Book of the Laramie County Stock Growers Association, November 29, 1873, Wyoming Stock Growers Association Collection (Western History Research Center, University of Wyoming, Laramie). Leader, November 29, 1873. Osgood, The Day of the Cattleman, pp. 120-21. Louis Pelzer, The Cattlemen's Frontier (Glendale, Calif., 1936), pp. 88-89.

¹⁰³ Horace W. Hewlett, "Territorial Wyoming and the Cattle Industry" (unpublished Master's thesis, Yale University, 1941), p. 217.

action on several fronts. Membership was relatively inexpensive; an admission fee of \$5 plus a monthly fee of 50¢ was charged.¹⁰⁴

During 1874 the Association based in Cheyenne began to cooperate actively with a similar association in Albany County on roundups and law enforcement.¹⁰⁵ By this time Cheyenne was emerging as the "administrative and social metropolis" of the "cattlemen's range,"¹⁰⁶ and was described by a leading cattleman as the meeting point of the "cowman, the railroadman, and the politician."¹⁰⁷

The cattle industry, however, proved to be a slow and limited path to community growth and prosperity. While the cattlemen who made the city their home became a relatively prosperous elite, this group remained small in number and in this respect added little to the city's population. In addition, the sparsely populated ranching country which looked to Cheyenne as its center did not require the proportion of services a prosperous farming hinterland might need.

In addition to the growth of the cattle industry in Cheyenne's vicinity, another factor, the presence of Fort

¹⁰⁴ Minute Book of the Laramie County Stock Growers Association, February 23, 24, 1873.

¹⁰⁵ Minute Book of the Laramie County Stock Growers Association, April 6, 1874.

¹⁰⁶ Pelzer, The Cattlemen's Frontier, p. 88. Latham, Trans-Missouri Stock Raising . . ., p. 72.

¹⁰⁷ Clay, My Life on the Range, p. 4.

Russell, provided a means of sustaining the community during the depression of the early 1870's. From 1868 to 1873 more troops were stationed at Fort Russell than at Fort Laramie (generally regarded as the main post in the region), the highest number being 630 in 1872.¹⁰⁸ These looked to the city for a variety of services, especially entertainment. The impact of payday at the Fort, amounting to about \$30,000, was quickly felt in the city; "squads of soldiers in different stages of intoxication perambulated the streets to a late hour."¹⁰⁹ The Fort was also economically important to the city in that residents received contracts to provide wood, hay, and beef to the post or to construct and maintain buildings. The quartermaster's depot, Camp Carlin, provisioning a number of northern posts, provided employment for local teamsters and mechanics.¹¹⁰

In total, the city's economic assets during these years amounted to the railroad, the capital, the cattle industry, and the army post. While these could be expected to maintain Cheyenne as a respectable little administrative and commercial center, a basic prerequisite for substantial

¹⁰⁸ Figures compiled from Reports of the Commander, Department of the Platte, published annually in U.S., Congress, House, Reports of the Secretary of War, 1868-1873, Exec. Docs.

¹⁰⁹ Leader, September 17, 28, 1869; August 9, 1870; July 9, 1874.

¹¹⁰ Leader, January 28, February 16, 20, 1874; July 1, 1875.

growth was still lacking--an agricultural hinterland. Yet the future was not entirely without hope. The northern part of Wyoming Territory, reserved for the use of the Sioux, might provide fertile land and, if rumors were true, gold. Forced to rely on its own initiative because the railroad company was an indifferent parent, Cheyenne was to exhibit a high degree of self-reliance and a surprisingly aggressive nature in its efforts to open the north country and win its own future.

CHAPTER V

THE BECKONING NORTH

"Cheyenne cannot hope for a permanency until the surrounding country is settled by a thriving farming population," declared Ferdinand V. Hayden, the head of the United States Geological Survey of the Territories, in 1870.¹ Hayden's statement reflected current local opinion. Potentially great cities on previous frontiers had stable agricultural hinterlands soon after their founding as the rural frontier quickly caught up to them and hastened their development as commercial centers.² However, three years after Cheyenne's founding, it had become obvious that "this is not an agricultural country. Stockraising and mining are the only kinds of business that have received much attention."³ The 1870 census reported only 338 acres under cultivation for the

¹Ferdinand V. Hayden, Preliminary Report of the United States Geological Survey of Wyoming and Portions of Contiguous Territories (Washington, 1872), p. 114.

²Richard Wade, The Urban Frontier; Pioneer Life in Early Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Lexington, Louisville, and St. Louis (Chicago, [1959] 1964). Bayrd Still, "Patterns of Mid-Nineteenth Century Urbanization in the Middle West," MVHR, XXVIII (September, 1941), 187-206.

³J. L. Brooke, Governor Campbell's private secretary, to Mrs. Eliza Connor, March 30, 1870, Wyoming Territory, Governor John A. Campbell's Letter Press Books, Vol. I (Wyoming State Archives and Historical Department, Cheyenne).

entire Territory. In comparison, Nebraska was listed as having 647,031 acres and Colorado Territory, 95,594 acres under cultivation.⁴

Hopes for the future development of agriculture seemed dim, primarily because of the aridity of the plains surrounding the city. Rainfall in the vicinity, only 8.97 inches during 1871 for example, was far below the minimum of twenty inches considered necessary for successful agriculture.⁵ Yet some believed that rainfall was increasing in the area. Baker of the Leader maintained that "it is well known that wherever civilization has penetrated increase of moisture and a greater fall of rains invariably follows."⁶ This point of view was given official support by Hayden's expedition, for Hayden, as well as other scientists, believed that cultivation of the soil, irrigation, and tree planting would increase the rainfall on the plains.⁷ A member of Hayden's party reported that he had good evidence

⁴Francis A. Walker, A Compendium of the Ninth Census, 1870 (Washington, 1872), pp. 688-89.

⁵U.S., Congress, House, "Annual Report of the Surveyor-General, Wyoming Territory," Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 42nd Cong., 2nd Sess., 1871, Exec. Doc. I, p. 286.

⁶Leader, October 5, 1869.

⁷For a full discussion of the belief of Hayden and other scientists that western rainfall was increasing, see Henry Nash Smith, "Rain Follows the Plow: the Notion of Increased Rainfall for the Great Plains, 1844-1880," Huntington Library Quarterly, X (1947), 169-93.

that "rainfall is on the increase in the immediate vicinity of this city," and he attributed it to increased cultivation.⁸ Another "scientific gentleman of this city," told Baker that "this railroad alone was sufficient to produce the most decided changes in our meteorological phenomena. The constant concussion of the wheels and the volumes of smoke and steam thrown off produces such a change in the atmosphere that clouds are formed, concentrated and attracted, and their contents descend."⁹ As a matter of fact, rainfall had increased slightly, not because of the advance of settlement, but because of one of those inexplicable cycles of increased moisture which began about 1865 and ended abruptly about 1880.¹⁰

But the city could not afford the luxury of a lengthy wait for the increase in rainfall, even if it came. The city might well be the "commercial metropolis of a scope of country larger than France, England and Holland combined,"¹¹ but the surrounding region was so sparsely populated and the margin of profit of a retailing center so small, that it was abso-

⁸"Report of Professor Cyrus Thomas," in Hayden, Preliminary Report . . ., p. 231.

⁹Leader, October 5, 1869.

¹⁰C. Warren Thornthwaite, "The Great Plains," in Migration and Economic Opportunity, The Report of the Study of Population Redistribution, ed. Carter Goodrich, et al. (Philadelphia, 1936), pp. 217-27. C. Warren Thornthwaite, "Climate and Settlement in the Great Plains," in Yearbook of the Department of Agriculture (Washington, 1941), pp. 177-80.

¹¹Leader, February 10, 1870.

lutely necessary to increase the population of the hinterland so that a larger volume of goods could be sold. The Leader squarely posed the issue:

"A good farming country around" has ever been regarded as a desideradum in the founding of new towns. In this respect, as in others, the history of our city presents an anomaly. Other cities followed civilization--Cheyenne preceded it. Other cities have been created by the surrounding country--Cheyenne must create and develop her rural surroundings.¹²

If no agricultural hinterland existed for the city to dominate, then the city would have to create one. At least two solutions were obvious. The land surrounding the city could be irrigated;¹³ but irrigation was a slow, costly process even if enough water were available to make it feasible. The other possibility promised far greater and quicker returns; the settlement of the northeastern portion of Wyoming Territory, reputedly rich in fertile soil and mineral resources. A problem of major proportions presented itself here, however, for this desirable territory had been ceded to the Sioux Indians by the Treaty of Fort Laramie in 1868. By this treaty, the Sioux were given a reservation consisting of the present state of South Dakota west of the Missouri. Of more importance to Cheyenne's expansionist designs was the Sixteenth Article of the Treaty which closed the Powder River and Big Horn country to white travel or settle-

¹² April 30, 1870.

¹³ Campbell to G. L. Childs, September 16, 1870, Wyoming, Governor Campbell's Letter Press Books, Vol. I.

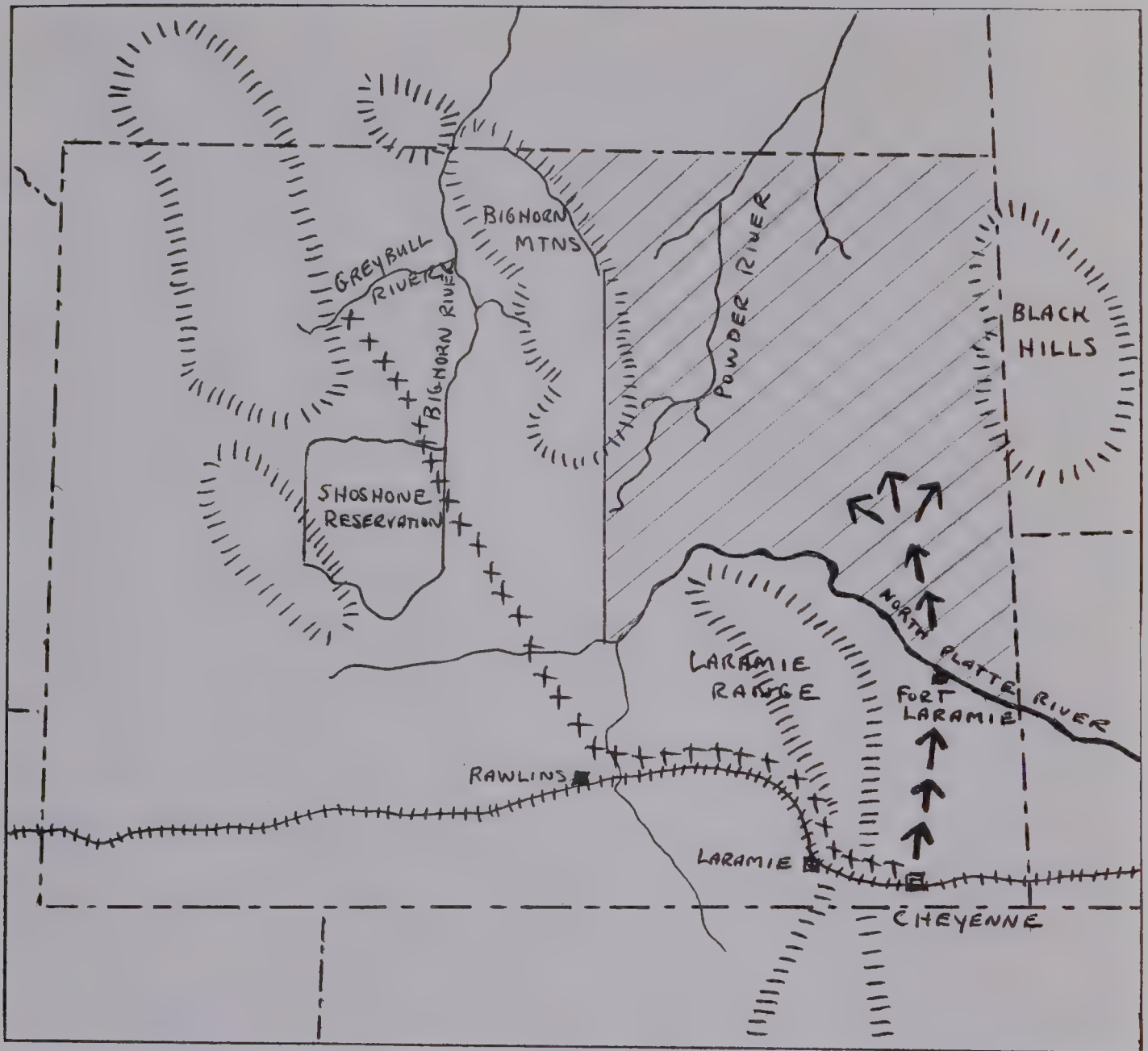
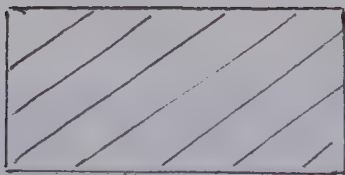


Fig. 6.--Big Horn Expedition



Unceded Indian Territory according to the Sixteenth Article of the Treaty of Fort Laramie, 1868.



Approximate route originally planned for the expedition.



Eventual route of the expedition.

ment and reserved it as the Indians' exclusive hunting grounds.¹⁴ This meant that the area north of the North Platte River and east of the Big Horn Mountains, or almost two-thirds of the portion of Wyoming north of Cheyenne, was closed to exploitation from Cheyenne as long as the Treaty of Fort Laramie remained in effect.

There seems to have been no question in the minds of Cheyenne's residents about the propriety or morality of wresting this territory from the Sioux. The justification was a traditional argument, religious in character, going back at least to the Puritans and becoming a national creed during the Jacksonian period. The white race had a superior right to the soil because they meant to till it, as God intended, rather than let it lie waste as a hunting ground.¹⁵ Ingrained with a belief in the justice of Cheyenne's case, the Leader passed sentence on the Indian:

The destiny of the aborigines is written in characters not to be mistaken. The same inscrutable arbiter that decreed the down fall of Rome has pronounced the doom of extinction upon the red men of America.¹⁶

It was almost an Hegelian "law of progress" in which

¹⁴U.S., Statutes at Large, XVI, 640. George E. Hyde, Red Cloud's Folk, A History of the Oglala Sioux Indians (Norman, 1937), pp. 162-63. James C. Olson, Red Cloud and the Sioux Problem (Lincoln, 1965), 70-82.

¹⁵Albert K. Weinberg, Manifest Destiny, A Study of Nationalist Expansionism in American History (Chicago, [1935] 1963), pp. 72-74, 91.

¹⁶Leader, January 3, 6, 1870.

"barbarism must give way to Christianity, ignorance to enlightenment, despotism to freedom."¹⁷

To carry out this God-ordained task, Cheyenne hoped to use the same method tried by several other small communities on the edge of this Indian reservation--a well organized, semi-military expedition. Yankton, Dakota Territory, organized about 100 men in the spring of 1867, and again about 300 in the fall of 1868. Sioux City, Iowa, led by an irrepressible newspaper editor, organized a similar expedition in 1872, and another in 1874.¹⁸ All of these ventures were stymied by the federal government through the action of the western army, but the organizers of Cheyenne's expedition hoped to have more success in convincing authorities to let them proceed. The other expeditions planned to enter the Indian reservation itself, while Cheyenne's plans included only the questionable hunting grounds ceded to the Indians.

The expedition was conceived and organized by a small group of businessmen who formed the "Big Horn and Black Hills Mining and Exploring Association" late in 1869, but the objects of the expedition were so popular that it soon captured the imagination of the entire city. Even the territorial

¹⁷ Leader, April 4, 28, 1870.

¹⁸ Harold E. Briggs, "The Black Hills Gold Rush," North Dakota Historical Quarterly, V (1930-1931), 75-79. Annie D. Tallent, The Black Hills; or, The Last Hunting Ground of the Dakotahs (St. Louis, 1899), pp. 5-8. George W. Kingsbury, History of Dakota Territory, I (Chicago, 1915), 862-75.

officials resident in the city identified themselves with the objects of the expedition, reflecting the common desire to expand the area of white settlement at the expense of the Indian. Governor Campbell had already journeyed to Washington to press for the removal of restrictions to settlement of northern Wyoming,¹⁹ and the Wyoming Legislature at its first session had petitioned Congress to nullify the existing Indian treaties on the grounds that the Indians had violated the agreements.²⁰

One of Cheyenne's most influential and respected citizens, Judge William L. Kuykendall, was the driving force behind the organization of the expedition. According to Kuykendall, the original idea of using an expedition had come from an informal discussion in his office which concluded that "the discovery of gold in an Indian country had always decided the question of its occupancy in favor of the white man. . . . We decided that a gold hunters' expedition of a semi-military character would solve the question and open those sections to settlement."²¹

Although Kuykendall confessed that the federal

¹⁹ J. A. Campbell to Secretary of State, December 10, 1869 and February 19, 1870, U.S., Department of State, Territorial Papers, Wyoming Series (National Archives, Washington).

²⁰ Leader, January 31, February 19, 1870.

²¹ William L. Kuykendall, Frontier Days, A True Narrative of Striking Events on the Western Frontier (Cheyenne, 1917), p. 137.

government's reaction was still a question mark, he believed

that such an expedition will be allowed to go unmolested, as it must have been the intention of congress in organizing this territory to secure its speedy settlement and development, that having always been the policy of the government with other territories. It now remains to be seen whether the general government will give us territorial organization and then prevent us from carrying out its true interest.²²

As interest grew, the recruiting center was moved from Kuykendall's office to the city's unofficial community center, McDaniel's Variety Theater. Here in the gay atmosphere of one of the West's leading entertainment spots--actually a giant saloon connected on one side to an imitation of Barnum's museum and on the other to a large variety theater--the plans for the expedition matured. The location of the headquarters may account for the heady spirit which characterized the whole affair.²³

The destination of the expedition was always somewhat vague, partly because specific geographical information about the north was not available. Just what the expedition would do when it reached northern Wyoming was also unclear, except that members would hunt for gold and probably defend themselves from Indians. Joining the Association in Cheyenne (which entailed paying a \$1 membership fee) did not necessarily mean that a member intended to march with the

²² Quoted by Olson, Red Cloud and the Sioux Problem, p. 91.

²³ Leader, December 7, 11, 1869.

expedition. Over 100 men in the city, however, planned to be part of the invading force.²⁴

According to the local press, the leaders of the Big Horn Association were "among the most irrepressible of our citizens."²⁵ Judge Kuykendall was engaged in various enterprises including real estate and building supplies, but his major interest was public life. One of the original commissioners of Laramie County, he was also a judge of the probate court and foreman of the city's fire company. The treasurer of the Association was a successful banker, Posey S. Wilson. The Association's directors were H. J. Rogers, a director of Cheyenne's other major bank; William Wise, a restaurant owner; Charles Beno, owner of a small brewery and saloon; Henry Garbanati, a lawyer and real estate dealer. Among the more influential members were James McDaniel, the theater owner; J. R. Whitehead and W. W. Corlett; J. C. Abney, a livery stable operator; Charles Sternberger, a liquor dealer; Tim Dyer, a restaurant and hotel owner. Almost all of these were leaders in the community, having served in some public capacity such as county commissioner or city alderman.

But if the objects of the proposed expedition were to be achieved, much more financial and physical power

²⁴ Leader, December 11, 13, 1869; January 22, February 21, March 1, 1870.

²⁵ Leader, March 26, 1870.

would be necessary than could be mustered by a community of less than 1,500, even if that community enthusiastically endorsed the venture. For this reason, much of the city's activity would necessarily be in the field of promotion. As Omaha and Chicago also stood to gain from the settlement of northern Wyoming, aid would be solicited from their businessmen and Boards of Trade.²⁶ Chosen for this task of promotion was one of the city's most enthusiastic boosters, Col. Luke Murrin, a liquor and tobacco dealer who had been the popular mayor of the first chartered government two years earlier.²⁷

Several factors were in Murrin's favor as he approached Omaha and Chicago for assistance. Chief among these was the barrage of publicity that Baker unleashed through the editorial columns of the Leader. Baker wrote of little else during the first half of 1870 and, as the editor of the Territory's leading paper with a large circulation outside of the Territory, his glowing accounts reached many readers and interested them in the project. After a quick trip through the eastern states, Baker reported that he was "agreeably surprised" by

the prevalence of a general interest in the affairs of Wyoming, and especially in reference to the development of the northern portion of our Territory. There

²⁶Leader, January 26, 1870.

²⁷Leader, January 23, February 4, 17, 1868.

was a universal enquiry . . . to the Big Horn enterprise, which we discovered had obtained a much wider notoriety than we had reason to expect. We found people in the obscure mountain districts of Pennsylvania, who were well posted in regard to Wyoming, and who were awake to the importance of the great expedition, of which our city is the headquarters.²⁸

Eastern interest in the proposed expedition was due to several factors. The construction of the first transcontinental railroad drew national attention to the region; the rails of the Union Pacific and Central Pacific were joined at Promontory only a few months before Cheyenne's expedition was organized. Easterners were far less concerned with the hope of opening a new area for settlement than they were with the possibility of a new gold rush. The California, Nevada, Colorado, and Montana rushes were past history and the Sweetwater gold rush in western Wyoming was over by the fall of 1869. The Big Horn and Black Hills region, for decades legendary for its abundance of gold,²⁹ now promised to become the new Eldorado.

Much of eastern confidence in the expedition's chances for success stemmed from the belief that those organizing and supporting the expedition were among the "most respectable citizens of Wyoming Territory."³⁰ Press reports

²⁸ Leader, April 18, 1870.

²⁹ Harold E. Briggs, Frontiers of the Northwest, A History of the Upper Missouri Valley (New York, 1940, pp. 25-28. Agnes Wright Spring, The Cheyenne and Black Hills Stage and Express Routes (Glendale, Calif., 1949), pp. 17-27.

³⁰ Maj.-Gen. C. C. Augur to Bvt. Maj.-Gen. George L.

that a recent trip to Washington by Governor Campbell was actually on behalf of the Association and that he was making an effort to get a military escort of 300 to accompany the expedition³¹ were not denied by Colonel Murrin, who was probably the originator of the rumor. Murrin himself, as former mayor of Cheyenne and a prosperous businessman, was visible proof that the organizers of the expedition were not merely visionary adventurers.

Confidence in the expedition's success resulted in lavish promises of aid to the Association by Omaha and Chicago businessmen. The Omaha businessmen began collecting subscriptions and forwarding them to Cheyenne. Murrin reported that Chicago's individual businessmen and Board of Trade promised to donate enough provisions to last 3,000 men for four months.³² But Chicago's merchants were motivated by more than charity in their desire to support the expedition.

Hartsuff, March 17, 1870. Correspondence relating to the Big Horn expedition was collected by President Grant in compliance with a resolution of the United States Senate requesting information on the organization and published as U.S., Congress, Senate, Message of the President of the United States Communicating, In Compliance with a Resolution of the Senate, Information in Relation to an Organized Band of Persons at Cheyenne, in the Territory of Wyoming or Vicinity, the Number and Designs of Such Persons, 41st Cong., 2nd Sess., 1870, Exec. Doc. 89, hereafter cited as SED 89.

³¹ Chicago Tribune, reprinted in Leader, February 17, 1870. Des Moines Register, reprinted in Leader, March 10, 1870.

³² Omaha Herald, reprinted in Leader, February 4, 1870. Leader, February 28, 1870.

Cheyenne, as the retailer to this new area, would still be completely within Chicago's commercial sphere of influence, and being grateful for Chicago's aid would not likely look to St. Louis, which might make an effort to become supplier to the new region.³³

In addition to the interest shown by Chicago's businessmen, hundreds of young men eager to take part in the expedition thronged Murrin's rooms at the Sherman House in Chicago. Murrin was joined in Chicago by H. A. Pierce, owner of the Wyoming Tribune and operator of an insurance agency in Cheyenne, and together they painted roseate pictures of the certain success adventurous young men could achieve by marching with the expedition. Upon leaving Chicago they put the Association's business into the hands of an agent, whose office became so crowded with interested parties that he urged Murrin to return to Chicago. He could not attend to all of the prospective recruits by himself.³⁴

Pierce continued on to Philadelphia, Boston, and New York. Joseph M. Carey, visiting in Philadelphia, wrote that Pierce was there publicizing the expedition and while "slightly insane on that subject . . . he is doing well for the cause."³⁵

³³ Chicago Tribune, reprinted in Leader, February 17, 1870.

³⁴ Leader, March 5, 1870. Wyoming Tribune (Cheyenne), March 5, 1870.

³⁵ Wyoming Tribune, March 5, 1870.

Pierce reported that excitement about the expedition's objects was growing on the east coast; opposition by the eastern press to the proposed encroachment on Indian lands only increased the notoriety of the expedition.³⁶

Other Cheyenne residents, though not officially connected with the expedition in any way, considered it their duty to publicize the expedition and work for its success. F. W. Freund, for example, a firearms dealer on his way to Europe to purchase more stock, announced that he would contact businessmen in the eastern cities to solicit their aid.³⁷

In hopes of encouraging large numbers of Easterners to make the long trip to Cheyenne, Murrin and Pierce negotiated with the railroads for special rates to groups of men making the trip under the auspices of the Association. Murrin reported that the western railroads agreed to carry passengers, in squads of twenty-five, from Chicago to Cheyenne for \$37, slightly more than one-half the usual fare. The Burlington and Missouri, the Chicago and Northwestern, and the Rock Island lines also promised to carry freight for the expedition between Chicago and Omaha at 70¢ per hundred pounds, which was 25¢ less than the usual rate. The Union Pacific would carry 10 tons of freight

³⁶Leader, March 25, 1870.

³⁷Leader, February 4, 1870.

free for every 100 "Big Horners."³⁸ Pierce had also arranged special rates from such eastern roads as the Erie and its connecting lines and the Michigan Southern. Fare for groups of twenty-five or more would be \$54 from New York to Cheyenne, \$53 from Philadelphia, and \$60 from Boston.³⁹

The various forms of publicity and support promised the Association led to an overwhelming flood of letters of inquiry to the corresponding secretary of the Association. One afternoon's mail alone included 146 letters.⁴⁰ Some interested parties did not rely on letters of inquiry and sent representatives to Cheyenne to investigate the prospects of the expedition. One San Franciscan, for example, was reported to be representing about 200 Californians.⁴¹ By early March, 1870, the leaders of the Association claimed 2,000 men were booked to take part in the expedition.⁴² Colonel Murrin optimistically predicted that as many as 10,000 men would arrive in Cheyenne to march with the expedition. He urged private citizens to make preparations to put up these strangers in their homes, for the hotels and boarding houses

³⁸ Leader, February 17, 28, 1870. Wyoming Tribune, February 26, 1870.

³⁹ Leader, March 25, 1870.

⁴⁰ Leader, March 1, 8, 1870.

⁴¹ Leader, March 31, 1870.

⁴² Augur to Hartsuff, March 12, 1870, SED 89. Kuykendall, Frontier Days . . ., p. 137.

would not be nearly adequate to handle the rush. Governor Campbell confessed that the "expedition is much larger and more thoroughly organized than I had supposed. They have agents all over the country, and I have no doubt they will be able to muster a large force."⁴³

The spectacular growth of the Association raised extravagant hopes for Cheyenne's economic recovery and future commercial position. By the end of January, 1870, the Leader was able to report that the "people of Cheyenne are thoroughly aroused. The Wealth of Big Horn will soon pour into [our] lap of commerce."⁴⁴ Baker predicted that even if the expedition should only prove to be moderately successful, "our Territory will be the theatre of an excitement equal to that of California in '49. Cheyenne will suddenly assume an importance never before dreamed of."⁴⁵ Baker also reported that "this Big Horn Business is making orators of nearly all our citizens. Men speak who never spoke before and those that used to speak, now speak the more."⁴⁶ Among those who spoke enthusiastically at the weekly meetings at McDaniel's was the banker, Posey S. Wilson, who forecast that a successful expedition would

⁴³Campbell to J. D. Cox, March 23, 1870, Wyoming, Governor Campbell's Letter Press Books, Vol. I.

⁴⁴January 31, 1870.

⁴⁵Leader, April 19, 1870.

⁴⁶Leader, January 17, 1870.

be the means whereby the Territory would be transformed into a state "with a rapidity that might be compared to the miracle of our Saviour, in turning water into wine."⁴⁷

The leaders of the Association, however, were aware of the fact that it would take more than publicity and optimism to invade and wrest the north from the Indians. Warnings were received that an invasion of Sioux Territory would almost certainly lead to "one of the greatest Indian wars ever known," for the Sioux "can easily muster 3,500 warriors."⁴⁸ It was therefore considered imperative to organize along military lines, with a commanding officer at the head of the expedition, to be elected by the members, and the membership divided into companies of eighty, each under a captain elected by the company. Each member was required to carry at least an adequate rifle and pistol, plus 500 rounds of ammunition for the rifle and 250 for the pistol. John Talbot of Cheyenne also donated a six-pound howitzer and ammunition to the expedition.⁴⁹

The constitution of the Association announced that the expedition would be "governed and controlled by the rules

⁴⁷ Leader, January 31, 1870.

⁴⁸ J. W. Smith to L. F. Hathaway, February 15, 1870, printed in Leader, February 23, 1870.

⁴⁹ "Constitution of the Big Horn Mountains and Black Hills Exploring Expedition," printed in Leader, December 24, 1869. Chicago Times, February 18, 1870. Kuykendall, Frontier Days . . ., p. 138. Leader, January 6, 1870.

and regulations of the army of the United States,"⁵⁰ but the expedition was essentially civilian and not military in character. Military discipline would be maintained only for the sake of protection against the Indians.⁵¹ The Chicago Tribune compared the nature of the organization to

one of those combinations of men which were so numerous in the early days of gold discovery in California, for mutual protection. . . . Those who go out to the Big Horn Country with the projected expedition, will not be bound by any more stringent obligations than are usual in frontier communities. . . . Each individual will achieve his own success, or accept the consequences of his own failure.⁵²

The successful organization of the expedition received wide publicity, and eventually the Sioux, the intended victims, received word of the projected invasion of their country. The chiefs expressed their alarm, especially at the rumors that the expedition would be escorted by at least 300 troops, and hoped that "their Great Father [would] protect them against this encroachment."⁵³ Word of the probable clash between Indian and white quickly reached the highest level of the administration in Washington. E. S. Parker, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, received the appeal of the distressed Indian agent

⁵⁰"Constitution . . . ," Leader, December 24, 1869.

⁵¹Leader, February 14, 1870.

⁵²Reprinted by the Wyoming Tribune, February 19, 1870.

⁵³De Witt Poole, Indian agent at Whetstone agency, Dakota Territory, to E. S. Parker, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, February 23, 1870, SED 89. Poole to John A. Burbank, Governor of Dakota Territory, March 4, 1870, SED 89.

in the Sioux country, and advised D. J. Cox, Secretary of the Interior, to stop Cheyenne's expedition or risk a general Indian war. Cox notified President Grant of the situation, and Grant immediately directed Secretary of War Belknap to "inquire into the real object of this pretended exploring party, and to prevent it from molesting the Indians upon their reservation."⁵⁴

Grant apparently hoped for a peaceful solution to the Indian question.⁵⁵ The major Sioux leaders, especially Red Cloud, had not accepted the 1868 treaty because of a provision that they trade at agencies on the Missouri and not at Fort Laramie, but there were signs that a compromise solution could be reached. The expedition, if allowed to go, would not only break the uneasy peace, but also ruin the chances for a final peaceful settlement.⁵⁶

The army of the Department of the Platte, however, in the regular course of its policing duties on the frontier,

⁵⁴ Parker to Cox, March 15, 1870, SED 89. Cox to the President, March 21, 1870, SED 89. Horace Porter, Grant's Secretary, to the Secretary of War, March 23, 1870, SED 89.

⁵⁵ James D. Richardson (comp.), A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789-1902, VII (Washington, 1902), 109-10, 152. The assertion of George Hyde (Red Cloud's Folk . . . , p. 173) that Grant "seems to have listened to certain wicked men who were more interested in developing the resources of the territories than in a policy of Christian forbearance toward the obstreperous Sioux," appears to be without foundation. Grant was constantly opposed to the invasion of the Sioux territory.

⁵⁶ Olson, Red Cloud and the Sioux Problem, pp. 83-92. Hyde, Red Cloud's Folk . . ., pp. 172-73.

had already taken action against the expedition. As with the Yankton expeditions of 1867 and 1868 and with the later expeditions from Sioux City in 1872 and 1874, the army preferred halting Cheyenne's expedition before it left its headquarters to the more difficult task of removing it from Indian lands.⁵⁷ General Augur, Commander of the Department of the Platte, investigated the objects of the expedition by interviewing its leaders in Cheyenne. Finding that they did in fact plan to invade Indian country, he warned the leaders that the army would be forced to maintain peace by preventing the expedition's departure.

Augur, however, left the door ajar. He sympathized with the Association's aims and he urged them to press for abrogation of at least the Sixteenth Article of the Sioux treaty.⁵⁸ But pressure from his superior in Chicago, Gen. Phil Sheridan, made it impossible for Augur to delay action on his standing orders to prevent any encroachment upon Indian territory,⁵⁹ and he asked Governor Campbell to notify the Association of the federal government's stand. Because of the "character of the parties engaged in organizing this expedition," Augur was confident that "nothing more is

⁵⁷ Raymond L. Welty, "The Policing of the Frontier by the Army, 1860-1870," Kansas Historical Quarterly, VII (1938), 249.

⁵⁸ Augur to Hartsuff, March 12, 1870, SED 89.

⁵⁹ Sheridan to Gen. W. T. Sherman, March 22, 1870, SED 89.

required than notification of the wishes of the government in this respect."⁶⁰

The organizers of the expedition were understandably disgruntled at the government's stand. There seemed to be several valid reasons why the expedition should be allowed to proceed. In the first place, the Indians had consistently broken the treaty by "their playful excursions beyond their agreed boundaries, and engaged in numerous predatory incursions within our limited space." But an even more important point was raised; as there were "but few sources of wealth in the southern portion [of the Territory] by which a prosperous community can be built up and become self-sustaining," it was obviously unjust to close the potentially wealthy north to white settlement.⁶¹

But if Cheyenne were prepared to do battle with the entire Sioux nation, it had no intention of including the U. S. army on its list of combatants. A destination acceptable to federal authorities would have to be found before the entire grand scheme collapsed. Even before Augur's final orders reached the public, the leaders of the Association informed Governor Campbell of a new destination; the

⁶⁰ Augur to Campbell, March 21, 1870, SED 89; printed in Leader, March 23, 1870, and Wyoming Tribune, March 26, 1870.

⁶¹ Executive Committee of the Big Horn and Black Hills Mining and Exploring Association to Maj.-Gen. C. C. Augur, c. March 9, 1870, SED 89.

expedition now intended to proceed to the Big Horn basin west of the mountains.⁶² Once it shifted its sights away from Indian lands, the Association gained the active support of Governor Campbell. Campbell wired the Secretary of the Interior that the army could now not legally block the expedition for he doubted whether the federal government had any "authority for stopping an avowedly peaceful expedition, whose professed intention it is merely to explore and develop lands belonging to the United States."⁶³ He also suggested that the federal government not only rescind its orders preventing the departure of the expedition, but that the expedition be given official sanction. In Campbell's opinion, the Sioux would go on the warpath during the summer whether or not the expedition left Cheyenne. The army could well use a thousand self-armed and provisioned men in the event of an almost certain Indian war.⁶⁴

In addition to the assistance of the territorial governor, the Association hoped to use the influence of the other territorial officials to win governmental permission for the expedition to depart. Territorial officials such as Attorney-General J. M. Carey, and all three justices of the

⁶² Executive Committee of the Association to Campbell, March 21, 1870, SED 89.

⁶³ Campbell to Cox, March 23, 1870, Wyoming, Governor Campbell's Letter Press Books, Vol. I.

⁶⁴ Campbell to Cox, March 23, 1870, Wyoming, Governor Campbell's Letter Press Books, Vol. I.

supreme court attended a mass protest meeting, "the most immense outpouring of the people ever known in Cheyenne,"⁶⁵ and assured the citizens of their sympathy with the objects of the expedition. Chief Justice J. H. Howe, bowing to popular demand, consented to head a delegation to Washington on behalf of the Association in spite of the fact that he would not have sufficient time to receive permission from the Justice Department to leave the Territory.⁶⁶ It was also hoped to harness the power and influence of the Union Pacific which would "go a long ways" in changing government policy. Col. Luke Murrin told the enthusiastic gathering that Col. J. A. Hammond, general superintendent of the railroad, had given the Association his promise to help in any way he could.⁶⁷

Wyoming's representatives descended on Washington, led by Howe and ex-territorial Secretary E. M. Lee. In the House of Representatives, Wyoming's delegate, the Cheyenne merchant S. F. Nuckolls, introduced a resolution on behalf of the Association which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Mines and Mining.⁶⁸ Reports back to Cheyenne indicated that Congress seemed favorably disposed to the

⁶⁵Leader, March 25, 1870.

⁶⁶Leader, March 25, 1870.

⁶⁷Leader, March 25, 1870.

⁶⁸U.S., Congressional Globe, 41st Cong., 2nd Sess., 1870, p. 2402.

expedition.⁶⁹ But the administration was determined to prevent the expedition's departure in spite of pressure and charges of illegal interference in western affairs. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs was opposed even to the changed destination, fearing a possible collision between the expedition and bands of Indians out hunting.⁷⁰ The administration was extremely apprehensive about the objects of the expedition, regardless of the announced change in destination, because the administration had been led to believe by western pro-Indian correspondents such as John B. Wolff and the Indian agent at Whetstone agency "that the men engaged in this movement were a party of reckless, unscrupulous marauders" who would encroach on Indian lands in spite of promises.⁷¹ Therefore, Howe encountered stiff opposition in Washington:

You can scarcely imagine how suspicious and fearful the cabinet was in regard to the objects and purposes of this expedition, and how determined they were that it should not go at all. . . . I had to reason, debate, explain, beg, and resort to every expedient. . . .⁷²

A limited permission was finally granted and Howe triumphantly wired Cheyenne: "A great struggle but finally

⁶⁹Leader, April 8, 1870.

⁷⁰Parker to Campbell, April 4, 1870, SED 89.

⁷¹Howe's report of a conversation with Sheridan, Leader, April 26, 1870. John B. Wolff to Grant, December 22, 1869, SED 89. De Witt Poole to John A. Burbank, March 4, 1870, SED 89.

⁷²Howe to J. S. Farrar, April 14, 1870, printed in Leader, April 20, 1870.

successful. Expedition permitted. . . ."73 Cheyenne rejoiced and planned a public reception for Justice Howe, but it very quickly became evident that Cheyenne had won a hollow victory. Not only had they received permission to enter territory which was public land and therefore not closed to settlement, but the leaders of the Association were made to understand they would not be able to "ask or expect any military aid or protection from the United States for any settlements they may establish or any mines they may open."74 In addition, Judge Kuykendall would have to sign an agreement promising not to enter any Indian reservation.

The leaders of the Association bravely attempted to keep up a bold front, but it was becoming obvious that the grandiose plans were quickly evaporating. The new destination of the expedition was not an Eldorado in western dreams as was the area between the Big Horns and the Black Hills. As far as Cheyenne itself was concerned, even if the expedition should prove successful, the country settled would be too far west to fall naturally into Cheyenne's economic sphere of influence. The motives of the Association's leaders in choosing this new destination began to be seriously

⁷³ Howe to N. A. Baker, April 14, 1870, printed in Leader, April 15, 1870.

⁷⁴ Sherman to Sheridan, April 14, 1870, SED 89. Robert Athearn, William Tecumseh Sherman and the Settlement of the West (Norman, 1956), pp. 283-84.

questioned, and it was publicly charged that Kuykendall and others were "activated by mercenary motives" rather than by considerations for the general good of the city and the Territory.⁷⁵

As confidence wavered, the newspapers still reported daily arrivals of "Big Horners," but the expected thousands obviously were not coming. The provisions promised by the Chicago merchants failed to materialize, and expeditioners were informed that it would be necessary to contribute \$75 each for four months provisions and freighting costs. Thirty dollars of this was to be deposited in Wilson's bank at once, but public confidence in the future of the expedition was so low that the Association was forced to stipulate that this money would be "returned in case of the expedition for any cause failing to go."⁷⁶ In a last gallant attempt to revive eastern interest and collect promised provisions, Murrin and Pierce, accompanied by territorial Auditor Ben Gallagher, left for Omaha and Chicago.⁷⁷ They met with rebuffs; the eastern centers had lost interest in a venture which no longer seemed destined to succeed.

Especially galling to Cheyenne, and particularly to the Leader, was the attitude taken by the Omaha and Denver newspapers which seemed relieved that Cheyenne would not

⁷⁵ Leader, April 25, 1870.

⁷⁶ Leader, April 8, 18, 1870.

⁷⁷ Leader, April 8, 18, 1870.

become a major commercial rival after all:

The men of Omaha well know that Cheyenne needs only to be backed up by a prosperous mining district to become the great central city of the plains. They look with jealousy and alarm upon our growing trade and rapidly increasing importance. Hence their journals are swift to seize upon the earliest and faintest grounds that will afford a pretence to decry the Big Horn enterprise. Colorado, too, has never looked upon the Big Horn expedition with anything like generosity. Hence there is a growl of approbation, of exultation perhaps, going the rounds of the Colorado papers since Omaha has given them the cue of "Big Horn squelched."⁷⁸

But the expedition was not dead, and a certain amount of enthusiasm was again evident in Cheyenne as it made final preparations to leave. While the optimistic predictions for the future of Cheyenne were no longer filling the columns of the newspapers, the Leader reported that "everybody talks about the expedition. The streets are full of it."⁷⁹ Fourteen men were reported to have left their jobs at the Union Pacific yards in order to join the expedition.⁸⁰ Advertisements appeared in the press offering special rates on boots, guns, ammunition, and mining equipment to "Big Horners." One barbershop offered free hair cuts in the "Big Horn style" to those making the expedition.⁸¹ Isaac Bard, unfavorably impressed with the Association earlier in the spring, now felt that "it begins to look like Buisness [sic]. I hope

⁷⁸Leader, March 26, 1870.

⁷⁹May 12, 1870.

⁸⁰Leader, May 12, 1870.

⁸¹Leader, May 11, 15, 1870.

to be able to sell them another Teame [sic] before they start out."⁸² Church Howe, United States Marshal for Wyoming Territory, solicited funds from Cheyenne's businessmen and purchased a complimentary outfit for Dr. J. S. Claridge who would accompany the expedition as physician and surgeon.⁸³ Finally, in the middle of May, the expedition went into camp between Camp Carlin and Crow Creek and practised signals with banners and flags prior to proceeding.⁸⁴

Agreements with the federal government, however, were not to exempt the expedition from continued involvements in Washington's diplomatic affairs. Word that the Sioux chiefs were willing to discuss the entire question of the northern reservations was accompanied by the warning that this situation might evaporate if the Big Horn expedition were allowed to leave Cheyenne.⁸⁵ With the prospect of a peaceful settlement with the Sioux in sight, Grant immediately ordered the Army to halt the expedition, pending negotiations with the Sioux chiefs.⁸⁶ The expedition was detained for several days, but finally allowed to leave on

⁸² Isaac Bard, Diary, February 26, May 15, 1870 (Western Americana Collection, Yale University, New Haven).

⁸³ Leader, May 13, 18, 1870.

⁸⁴ Leader, May 11, 1870.

⁸⁵ Campbell to Parker, May 12, 1870, SED 89.

⁸⁶ Sherman to Augur, May 13, 1870, SED 89. Cox to Parker, May 13, 1870, SED 89.

May 20, after Red Cloud and other chiefs had decided to go to Washington for talks with the President.⁸⁷

The total number of men finally leaving with the expedition was 127, far less than the hundreds or even thousands originally expected, and also far less than the number of men that actually made the trip to Cheyenne to join the expedition. Of the many businessmen who served in an executive capacity in the Association, only Kuykendall, William Wise, Charles Beno, and J. S. Farrar actually accompanied the expeditionary force. Many of the businessmen, of course, never intended to make the trip, having given their support to a movement they hoped would benefit their city and their business. Perhaps more would have accompanied the expedition if the prospects had been more auspicious.

Once on the road, the expedition proceeded to Laramie and then shipped part of its freight by rail to Rawlins to give its overloaded horses a rest.⁸⁸ From Rawlins the force marched overland to the Sweetwater region and then, as the government had feared, north across the Shoshone reservation. The Shoshones happened to be away hunting so no difficulties were encountered. General Augur, upon hearing of this encroachment, immediately dispatched two companies of cavalry to turn the expedition back. By the time the cavalry over-

⁸⁷ Olson (Red Cloud and the Sioux Problem, p. 95) erroneously gives the impression that the expedition was abandoned entirely.

⁸⁸ Laramie Daily Sentinel, May 25, 1870.

took the expedition, it was north of the Indian reservation, but the officer in charge did not insist upon the expedition's return because he found it in such a disorganized and discouraged condition that it would soon dissolve without the use of force.⁸⁹ In Cheyenne, no hope survived for the success of the expedition: there were only fears for the safety of its members.⁹⁰ Dispatches from the force illustrated its precarious condition: "Prospects so far, slim. The project a success ultimately. No Indians. Resources dwindling. Help needed."⁹¹ By the middle of August, the expedition disintegrated, part of the force continuing on to Montana, a small portion dejectedly trudging back to Cheyenne.⁹²

The army and federal administration breathed a sigh of relief with the collapse of the expedition; no Indian war had broken out. In fact, the federal government's relations with the Sioux were greatly improved by the government's determination to observe the Indian treaties; Red Cloud was now "a most ardent and determined friend of peace."⁹³

⁸⁹ U.S., Congress, House, "Annual Report of the Commander, Department of the Platte," Report of the Secretary of War, 41st Cong., 3rd Sess., 1870, Exec. Doc. 1, pp. 33-34.

⁹⁰ Campbell to Parker, July 11, 1870, Wyoming, Governor Campbell's Letter Press Books, Vol. I.

⁹¹ Printed by Wyoming Tribune, July 30, 1870.

⁹² Kuykendall, Frontier Days . . ., pp. 138-41. Leader, August 23, 1870.

⁹³ U.S., Congress, House, "Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs," Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 41st Cong., 3rd Sess., 1870, Exec. Doc. 1, p. 468.

The understandable desire to maintain peace emasculated the city's expedition to the point where success was all but impossible. Not even the expected Congressional support materialized.⁹⁴ Henry Garbanati summed up Cheyenne's disgusted reaction to the failure of its expedition: "All the efforts that had been made for the development and advancement of our city and Territory, had been checkmated . . . at Washington."⁹⁵ The citizens of the city, after a public protest meeting, sent the following memorial to President Grant;

We fear that the recently proclaimed policy of the Interior department in relation to the Indian tribes of our Territory, reverses the former order of things and transfers the "fostering care" and "generous protection" of the government from the pioneers to a few bands of murderous savages.⁹⁶

But Judge Kuykendall, with advantage of hindsight, pointed out that while the expedition had been unsuccessful in its immediate object of occupying northern Wyoming, it had "driven the entering wedge . . . which eventually accomplished it."⁹⁷

The failure of the Big Horn expedition spurred on the city to new attempts to open the northern part of the Terri-

⁹⁴Nuckholl's bill was finally reported adversely. U.S., Congressional Globe, 41st Cong., 3rd Sess., 1871, p. 966.

⁹⁵Leader, June 9, 1870.

⁹⁶Sent to Grant by J. A. Campbell, June 15, 1870, U.S., Bureau of Indian Affairs, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, Wyoming Superintendency (National Archives, Washington).

⁹⁷Kuykendall, Frontier Days . . . , p. 141.

tory. A railroad company, the Cheyenne, Iron Mountain, and Montana Railroad Company, was organized with Whitehead, Governor Campbell, territorial Surveyor-General Silas Reed, banker H. J. Rogers, and others as the principal backers. The object of this projected venture was to tap the supposedly rich Iron Mountain, fifty miles north of Cheyenne, and also to build a railroad from Cheyenne to Helena, Montana.⁹⁸

W. T. Jones, A Cheyenne lawyer and territorial delegate to Congress, introduced a bill to Congress granting unspecified public lands to the new corporation, but the bill was never reported.⁹⁹ The prevailing mood of Congress with regard to land grants to railroads made the passage of such a bill very unlikely. In 1873 the railroad company was reorganized as the Wyoming, Black Hills, and Montana Railroad, with Dr. Hiram Latham as president and most of Cheyenne's leading businessmen as incorporators. Another bill, merely granting permission to cross public lands, was introduced by Jones, who argued that this railroad would be the means whereby the northern part of Wyoming would be settled. It would also connect the Union Pacific and Northern Pacific, adding to the trade of both. While the bill was passed by the House of Representatives, it was never reported out of committee

⁹⁸Leader, January 28, 1869; November 14, December 16, 1870. Wyoming Tribune, November 19, 1870. Julius Silversmith, The New Northwest (Cheyenne, 1869), p. 11.

⁹⁹U.S., Congressional Globe, 42nd Cong., 1st Sess., 1871, p. 80; 42nd Cong., 3rd Sess., 1873, p. 67.

by the Senate.¹⁰⁰

Interest in the project began to wane by 1874 although the new territorial delegate, Col. W. R. Steele, introduced a rewritten railroad bill. A new venture, a wagon road via Forts Laramie and Fetterman to Bozeman, Montana, now appeared most likely to be the "entering wedge to open up the Big Horn country."¹⁰¹ Many of the members of the abortive railroad project now joined the company which would build this road, the Cheyenne and Fort Ellis Transportation Company, incorporated at \$50,000.¹⁰² But requests to the federal government received the same response that the Big Horn expedition and the railroad projects had received: the negotiations with the Sioux had not led to a reduced Indian reserve and, therefore, the federal government could not permit the proposed road to be built.¹⁰³

The seemingly impregnable Indian barrier began to crack, however, when the federal government acceded to the city's requests for a bridge across the North Platte River at Fort Laramie. During the early 1870's contractors in

¹⁰⁰U.S., Congressional Globe, 42nd Cong., 3rd Sess., 1873, pp. 1154, 1258, 1343. Leader, January 16, 1873.

¹⁰¹Leader, January 13, 20, 1874.

¹⁰²Leader, January 10, 16, 17, 19, 1874. U.S., Congressional Globe, 43rd Cong., 1st Sess., 1873, p. 2837.

¹⁰³E. P. Smith, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to C. Delano, Secretary of the Interior, February 6, 1874, printed in Leader, February 17, 1874.

Cheyenne had supplied provisions to the Indian agencies in southwestern Dakota Territory,¹⁰⁴ but this trade was threatened by competition from Sidney and North Platte, Nebraska. The North Platte River at Fort Laramie, the most direct route from Cheyenne to the agencies, could not be forded for two or three months every year. Petitions to Laramie County's Board of County Commissioners to establish a ferry across the North Platte were unsuccessful.¹⁰⁵ Residents then turned to the federal government and requested a military bridge across the river. The request was quickly granted, perhaps because the military authorities wished to facilitate troop movements north of the river.¹⁰⁶ The Leader felt that the bridge would be an important first step in "the beginning of the end of Indian occupancy of any portion of Wyoming Territory."¹⁰⁷

The completion of the bridge in December, 1875, coincided with the rush by gold seekers to illegally occupy the Black Hills; wagons from Cheyenne rumbled across the military bridge into the forbidden territory.¹⁰⁸ It was the "beginning of a new era in the development of Cheyenne," declared the

¹⁰⁴Leader, June 20, 1871.

¹⁰⁵Leader, February 14, September 13, 1873.

¹⁰⁶John D. McDermott, "Fort Laramie's Iron Bridge," Annals of Wyoming, XXXIV (October, 1962), 138-39.

¹⁰⁷August 3, 1874.

¹⁰⁸LeRoy R. Hafen and Francis Marion Young, Fort Laramie and the Pageant of the West, 1834-1890 (Glendale, Calif., 1938), p. 383.

Leader, for the bridge would make the city "the great entrepot for all who are in the new gold fields."¹⁰⁹

If one judges by the criteria of immediate success, then Cheyenne's various attempts to open northern Wyoming to settlement were failures. But these abortive ventures had a long-range effect. The publicity, especially that surrounding the expedition, led to increased interest in the northern region. The fever was catching. The Black Hills gold rush five years later, which overwhelmed Indian and army opposition, was partly the result of the publicity surrounding Cheyenne's expedition. The northern hinterland opened up could not sustain the large agricultural population expected. But the gold rush and the cattle industry which developed to the north put Cheyenne on the road to at least a limited degree of stability and prosperity. The efforts themselves, especially the Big Horn expedition, thus, illustrate a basic aspect of western territorial expansion. They show how a little western city, by trying to increase the size of its commercial hinterland, could initiate action, particularly by promotion, and then serve as an instrument which channelled the energies of other cities and individuals in a specific direction.

¹⁰⁹ November 30, 1875.

CHAPTER VI

LIFE IN A DECLINING BOOM TOWN

The declining boom town was as much a part of the western urban scene as the boom town in flower. Hundreds of mining camps, end-of-track railroad towns, and agricultural hamlets bloomed for a short time and then slowly faded, many to become ghost towns.¹ During the early 1870's Cheyenne was one of these dwindling communities. Even though the city could find a sense of identity by rallying around a project such as the Big Horn expedition, declining population and repeated economic reverses greatly undercut the community's optimism and self-confidence. Few seriously feared that the city would become a ghost town, for the railroad, the cattle industry, and the position as territorial capital seemed to guarantee at least a minimal existence. The economic waning of the boom town, however, seriously hindered the growth and

¹Robert G. Athearn, High Country Empire, The High Plains and Rockies (Lincoln, [1960] 1964), pp. 193-98. Lewis Atherton, Main Street on the Middle Border (Bloomington, Indiana, 1954), pp. 32, 330-38. Harold E. Briggs, Frontiers of the Northwest, A History of the Upper Missouri Valley (New York, 1940), pp. 477-84. For a description of a group of mining camps in decline, see W. Turrentine Jackson, Treasure Hill, Portrait of a Silver Mining Camp (Tucson, 1963). An excellent description of the decline and death of two New Mexico railroad towns is Irving Telling, "Coolidge and Thoreau: Forgotten Frontier Towns," New Mexico Historical Review, XXIX (July, 1954), 210-23.

development of a variety of social institutions. The social disorganization of the earlier railroad construction period was no longer a major factor in determining the state of society. Rather, a concomitant of the depression was a drying-up of new immigration from the East. Except for some territorial officials and an occasional minister and teacher, Easterners were no longer being attracted to the city. Lost, therefore, was the close contact with established society which was possible if the frontier society were constantly revitalized by immigrants fresh from "the States." The result of this isolation was that Cheyenne began taking on the character of a dull, provincial, frontier town. Travellers no longer wrote about the fantastic activity and bustle which had astounded them during the city's founding. Some still came in hopes of finding the legendary "Hell on Wheels," but they, too, were disappointed. The city had settled into respectable mediocrity.²

Casual visitors were usually not impressed by the people they saw on Cheyenne's streets or in hotels. According to Isabella Bird, who travelled throughout the West in the early seventies, Cheyenne "abounds in slouching bar-room-looking characters, and looks a place of low, mean lives."³

² William F. Rae, Westward by Rail: The New Route to the East (New York, 1871), p. 84. Robert G. Athearn, Westward the Briton (Lincoln, 1953), p. 55.

³ Isabella L. Bird, A Lady's Life in the Rocky Mountains (Norman, [1879] 1960), p. 27.

Those visitors who compared Cheyenne's society with that of Europe or the East not surprisingly considered it provincial and unrefined. The wife of an army officer posted to Fort Russell in 1874 thought the city "the wildest sort of place . . . in contrast with the finished civilization of Europe, which I had so recently left."⁴ Many of the local residents, however, were fully aware of their lack of cultural and social sophistication. Even the Leader, which usually boasted that the city's level of refinement was comparable to that of eastern centers, acknowledged the "good influence that new citizens will have upon the social habits and manners of our people."

Let persons "from the East" come with their families, and the roughness of the western frontiersmen will be smoothed down by association with those, who have not been so long away from polite society, and strangers to the amenities and refinements of social life.⁵

While the human landscape might not have appeared prepossessing, Cheyenne's population had become more stabilized by 1870. The population was still essentially masculine in that adult males made up 50.4% of the total. But this proportion was a sharp decline from that during 1867-1868 when adult males probably made up 80% to 90% of the population. Following the pattern of frontier society everywhere in the West, single men still considerably out-

⁴ Martha Summerhayes, Vanished Arizona, Recollections of my Army Life (Philadelphia, 1908), p. 29.

⁵ Leader, November 21, 1872.

numbered married men, 518 to 213, but the proportion of families in the city had increased since 1868. Whereas adult females were estimated to have made up only 7% of the population in 1868, by 1870 they constituted 24%.⁶ Like their sisters throughout the country they involved themselves in various efforts to civilize the city while the more practical "realities of life" were left to the men. Many women were active inside church groups, some taught school, others were influential in the founding of literary and library associations as well as several reform movements.⁷

The place of women in Cheyenne's society was strengthened to a certain extent in 1869 by the territorial legislature's passage of several progressive bills concerning women's rights. A married woman was allowed to own separate property (although she could not sell this property without her husband's permission); women could sue and make writs; school boards were forbidden to discriminate on the basis of sex in paying teachers' salaries.

But in addition to this relatively advanced legislation, Wyoming's politicians dramatically granted women the

⁶U.S., Bureau of the Census, Ninth Census of the United States, 1870, Wyoming Schedules (National Archives, Washington).

⁷Louis B. Wright, Culture on the Moving Frontier (New York, [1955] 1961), pp. 226-30. Blake McKelvey, The Urbanization of America, 1860-1915 (New Brunswick, N.J., 1963), pp. 169, 218, 220. Atherton, Main Street . . ., pp. 116-21.

right to vote and hold office.⁸ This move has often been interpreted as the chivalrous gesture of a liberal and progressive male population. The pioneer historian C. G. Coutant, for example, maintained that "there is probably not a spot on earth where so much respect is manifested, felt and shown to the ladies as in Cheyenne."⁹ But even ardent supporters of the woman's suffrage movement admitted that the measure had been introduced "without much discussion and without any general movement of men or women in its favor."¹⁰ Several nationally known suffragettes, such

⁸ Wyoming Territory, Session Laws of the First Legislative Assembly, 1869 (Cheyenne, 1870), pp. 234, 303-304.

⁹ [C. G. Coutant], "History of Wyoming by C. G. Coutant, Pioneer Historian and Heretofore Unpublished," Annals of Wyoming, XIII (April 1941), 218. This view has been popularized by Grace R. Hebard in articles such as "How Woman Suffrage came to Wyoming," Wyoming Historical Collections (1920), pp. 135-46.

¹⁰ Judge J. W. Kingman, quoted in Susan B. Anthony et al., The History of Woman Suffrage, IV (Rochester, N.Y., 1902), 1092. The bill was introduced into the legislature by William H. Bright of South Pass City, a Confederate veteran, reportedly on the grounds that if illiterate, ignorant Negroes in the South could be given the vote, why not the intelligent women of Wyoming. Bright was said to have been influenced in this direction by his wife and especially by Esther Morris of South Pass City. Morris has usually been given credit for the introduction of woman suffrage, probably because of the publicity which she received after she became the first female justice of the peace. T. A. Larson, "Petticoats at the Polls: Woman Suffrage in Territorial Wyoming," Pacific Northwest Quarterly, XLIV (April, 1953), 74-79. The most authoritative account of woman suffrage in Wyoming is that in Larson's History of Wyoming (Lincoln, 1965), pp. 78-94. The most recent history of the woman suffrage movement, however, retells the traditional version: Andrew Sinclair, The Emancipation of the American Woman (New York [1965] 1966), pp. 208-12.

as Anne Dickinson and Redelia Bates, had lectured in Cheyenne early in 1869 prior to the action by the legislature, but it is difficult to determine their influence on the legislature or public. Most contemporaries agreed with the Leader's conclusion; the bill had been introduced for the "same reason that Barnum brought forward the Feggee Mermaid," to attract national attention.¹¹

Several local women, however, took action on their own behalf after the legislature had passed the bill. Governor Campbell was reported hesitant to approve the measure and a group led by Mrs. M. E. Post and Mrs. M. A. Arnold went to the Governor's residence to urge him to sign the bill.¹² As soon as the bill became law, arguments common for years in the East were raised in support or opposition. Some feared that the "delicate and cultured" women would hesitate to go to the polls while the "bold and indelicate" prostitutes and barmaids would be the first to come to the fore.¹³ In spite of

¹¹ Leader, March 12, 1870; June 24, 1873. Many who supported the measure admitted that the legislature's motives were questionable. For examples, see Susan B. Anthony et al., History of Woman Suffrage, III (Rochester, N.Y., 1886), 729-30, 747-948; and "Biographical Sketch of Morton E. Post," Cheyenne, c. 1885 (Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley).

¹² Diary of Susan B. Anthony, quoted in Ida H. Harper, The Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony, I (Indianapolis, 1899), 408. Anthony, History of Woman Suffrage, IV, 994. John W. Kingman, "Autobiography," Annals of Wyoming, XIV (July, 1942), 225.

¹³ Kingman, Annals of Wyoming, XIV, 225. Kingman, quoted in Anthony, History of Woman Suffrage, IV, 1092.

growing opposition, Cheyenne's women went to the polls for the first time in September, 1870, led by Mrs. Church Howe, the wife of the United States marshal.¹⁴ Even those who opposed woman suffrage admitted that better order was maintained at the polls after women began to vote.¹⁵

It is almost impossible to measure the implications of the women's vote on various political issues, however, but their influence in bringing about reforms has probably been overestimated. For one thing, female voters were outnumbered by males by more than two to one. In addition, the women certainly would not have always voted in a bloc. Many of the women who now had the vote were not necessarily opposed to the current liberal attitude to saloons, dance halls, and brothels. Prostitutes and dance hall girls were not listed as such by the 1870 census. For this reason, an unusual number of unmarried housekeepers (56) and domestic servants (22) are listed for a city with only slightly more than 200 families; a remarkable number of single dressmakers (20) would have kept Cheyenne's 300 women more than well clothed.¹⁶

The territorial legislature had granted women equality in certain specified areas, but two territorial justices, John H. Howe and J. W. Kingman, both outspoken advocates of

¹⁴Leader, September 6, 1870.

¹⁵Leader, February 24, 1871; September 4, 1872.

¹⁶Bureau of the Census, Ninth . . . 1870, Wyoming Schedules.

female suffrage, pushed female equality even further. They ruled that suffrage qualified women to serve on juries in territorial courts even though territorial laws specified that jurors be male.¹⁷ Women in Laramie City were the first to be called and Cheyenne's women were reportedly "trembling and uneasy" because of the approaching term of district court in the city.¹⁸ They were to serve during 1870 and 1871, often in major trials, although this sometimes raised special problems. During one trial in which a partly female jury deliberated for four days and nights, the court was constrained to appoint cooks to assist the stricken husbands.¹⁹ While making a good impression on the courts, women were not called to jury duty after 1871 simply because succeeding judges did not agree with the interpretation of Howe and Kingman.²⁰

In addition to the growing numbers and growing influence of women, another factor tended to stabilize society during this depressed period--the coming of territorial officials to the city. Their presence in the capital did more than merely enliven the social life of the city's elite for they served as important agents of acculturation, transport-

¹⁷W. W. Corlett, "The Founding of Cheyenne," Cheyenne, 1885 (Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley), p. 20. Kingman, Annals of Wyoming, XIV 225.

¹⁸Wyoming Tribune (Cheyenne), March 19, 1870.

¹⁹Leader, March 23, July 22, 1871.

²⁰Corlett, "The Founding of Cheyenne," p. 21

ing eastern ways to the frontier.²¹ Most of them, especially Governor Campbell, became active within the community by supporting the struggling churches and schools and various cultural organizations. Some remained as private citizens after their terms of office expired and became closely identified with the city's progress. The most important of these was Joseph M. Carey, the first territorial attorney general. Carey graduated in law from the University of Pennsylvania and practised law in Philadelphia before being appointed to Wyoming. President Grant supposedly planned to appoint Carey as governor of Santo Domingo which Grant hoped to annex to the United States, but this entire venture had collapsed. Carey became one of the city's leading cattlemen and businessmen as well as becoming one of the most influential political leaders, serving as mayor and later as senator in Congress and state governor. Another official who remained in the city was Herman Glafcke, appointed as territorial secretary in 1870. Glafcke entered the newspaper business by buying N. A. Baker's Cheyenne Leader. He was also the city postmaster from 1873 to 1881.

While local residents recognized the contributions of some of the territorial officials to the city, there was a good deal of prejudice "against these outside people."²²

²¹ Earl Pomeroy, The Territories and the United States, 1861-1900 (Philadelphia, 1947).

²² Corlett, "The Founding of Cheyenne," p. 23.

According to W. W. Corlett, a lawyer in the city since 1867, this resentment was due to the fact that officials "didn't become bona fide citizens and residents. . . . They were unacquainted and out of sympathy with us."²³ He cited the case of Chief Justice John H. Howe who seemed to consider his duties in the city with some distaste:

He came here from Illinois and held terms of court in a rapid manner and as soon as he would get through with his business went away to his home claiming that he had that sort of understanding with the appointing power.²⁴

It should be pointed out, however, that some of this criticism of territorial officials was simply the result of partisan, or even factional politics. Of more validity was Corlett's assertion that "the people seemed to have an instinctive idea that in popular government their office holders ought to be appointed from among themselves."²⁵ All territorial officials, regardless of their contribution to the community, were symbols of outside political control. As such, they became objects of suspicion and some resentment because the aggressive Westerner was unhappy with his colonial status.

All of Cheyenne's residents in 1870 were only recent immigrants from somewhere else, although most had come before

²³ Corlett, "The Founding of Cheyenne," p. 24.

²⁴ Corlett, "The Founding of Cheyenne," p. 19.

²⁵ Corlett, "The Founding of Cheyenne," p. 24.

the territorial officials. Many of the children (76) were born in Wyoming, but most of the adults came from somewhere to the east. The great majority of this population (76.5%) was native American in origin (this was comparable to Denver's 76% but far higher than Chicago's 50%). As was the case in Denver, Ireland, Germany, and Britain led as foreign countries of origin. The native American who populated Cheyenne followed the traditional American pattern of westward expansion. Most of them had been born in states roughly east of Wyoming. A substantial proportion of the total population (37.2%) was born in three North Central states (Ohio, Illinois, and Missouri) and two Middle Atlantic states (New York and Pennsylvania). The southern and New England proportion of the population was far smaller than has usually been assumed for the southern states contributed 9.5% and the New England states only 6.4% of the city's population.²⁶

It is not possible to determine how many of these immigrants moved directly to Cheyenne from their places of birth, but judging by the birthplaces of their children, many moved west in stages. On this basis, Iowa, Missouri,

²⁶ Figures compiled from Bureau of the Census, Ninth . . . 1870, Wyoming Schedules. The assumption that a great many Confederate veterans came to Wyoming has been shown to be false by Jay Paul Gurian, "Two Western Mining Communities: A Study of their Actual Development and their Mythology" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1962), p. 29.

Nebraska, and Illinois led as places of temporary residence before immigrants settled in Cheyenne.

At the bottom of the social scale, at least as far as many residents were concerned, were two minority racial groups, the Chinese and the Negroes. Like Westerners generally, Cheyenne's residents despised the Chinese in their midst. Fear and hatred was accentuated by such visitors from the West Coast as Col. E. Z. C. Judson, better known as Ned Buntline, who lectured on "The Curse of Chinese Immigration" at McDaniel's Theater.²⁷ The legislature in 1869, over Governor Campbell's veto, nullified all marriages between whites and those of more than one-eighth Negro or Chinese blood and made future marriages between whites and members of these races a felony.²⁸ While only thirteen Chinese lived in the city in 1870, they were the object of a surprising amount of public hostility. Baker of the Leader, for example, advised residents not to patronize Chinese laundries so that they would be forced to leave town.²⁹ Nor did the Chinese always receive equitable treatment in the courts. In one case, several drunken soldiers from Fort Russell broke into a Chinese laundry and stole several bundles of clothes. Arrested and brought to court,

²⁷ Leader, July 10, 1869.

²⁸ Wyoming, Session Laws . . . 1869, pp. 274-75, 706.

²⁹ Leader, November 11, 1870.

the soldiers were acquitted by the judge because the Chinese laundrymen "could not say in language comprehensible to the court, that they believed in a Supreme being."³⁰

Negroes were far more numerous than Chinese, making up 6.4% of the population. The legislature had given local school boards the right to establish separate schools for colored children if there were fifteen or more in any district. No demands for segregation were reported even though fourteen colored children attended the public school in 1870.³¹ While the schools remained integrated, most of the churches practised segregation. For a time the Methodists held separate services for the Negroes every Sunday afternoon. By 1872 the Negroes had organized their own congregation, known as the African Methodists, with a membership of twenty-six.³²

If eastern visitors regarded Cheyenne's inhabitants with a sense of distaste, they were even more disgusted with the physical appearance of the city itself. The city was now several years old, but little had been done after 1869 to improve the ramshackle look of the streets and buildings. Isabella Bird, in 1873, described it as

an ill-arranged set of frame houses and shanties; and rubbish. . . . Some of the houses are painted a blinding

³⁰Wyoming Tribune, September 24, 1870.

³¹Wyoming, Session Laws . . . 1869, p. 228. Wyoming Tribune, March 12, 1870.

³²Leader, August 21, 1869; October 2, 1872; June 10, 14, 1873.

white; others are unpainted; there is not a bush, or garden, or green thing; it just straggles out promiscuously on the boundless brown plains. . . . It is utterly slovenly-looking and unornamental.³³

Another female observer complained in 1874 that "cows, pigs, and saloons seemed to be the feature of the place."³⁴ Even a sympathetic resident, the wife of Governor Campbell, admitted that "the city was not imposing."

Low, unpretentious houses, built to resist the wind, stood with their gables fronting the street in wide spaces of gravel, offering four sides to the sunlight and ventilation. . . . There was a roomy look about the place . . . the wind blew at the rate of many miles an hour . . . and the entire absence of trees and vegetation made the picture bleak and unattractive.³⁵

Cheyenne's unattractiveness, of course, was not unique among western cities. The same sort of description was also given of most other frontier towns. To Rudyard Kipling, Livingston, Montana, was a "grubby little hamlet";³⁶ to Isabella Bird, Boulder, Colorado, was a "hideous collection of frame houses," and even Denver, "the great braggart city . . . [was] brown and treeless, upon the brown and treeless plain."³⁷ On the other hand, while the appearance

³³ Bird, A Lady's Life . . . , p. 27.

³⁴ Summerhayes, Vanished Arizona . . . , p. 19.

³⁵ [Mrs. J. A. Campbell], "Wyoming Territory, As Seen by the Wife of Wyoming's First Governor," Wyoming Historical Collections, I (1897), 216-17.

³⁶ Quoted by Athearn, Westward the Briton, p. 57.

³⁷ Bird, A Lady's Life . . . , pp. 137, 228.

of Cheyenne and other western communities might be desolate compared with established cities to the east, life in western communities was nevertheless a great improvement over the primitive living conditions faced by rural residents of the West. Those hardy folk who made ranches, farms, and the occasional way stations their homes looked upon Cheyenne and other towns as attractive and lively.

Faced with serious economic difficulties, the declining boom town was hardly in a position to concern itself with appearance. Local government authorities were unable to bring about substantial improvements in some of the most vital urban services despite important new powers granted the city by the territorial legislature. In contrast to the city's previous charters which limited income to revenue from licences, a new charter granted by the legislature in 1869 gave the city the right to levy taxes on property.³⁸

In addition, the city could rely on the facilities of Laramie County for some aid in administering and improving the city. In this regard, the Leader expressed the prevailing attitude in Cheyenne: "The city is the county,"

³⁸ Wyoming, Session Laws . . . 1869, pp. 697, 700. Wyoming Territory, Session Laws of the Second Legislative Assembly, 1871 (Cheyenne, 1872), p. 111. Wyoming Territory, Session Laws of the Third Legislative Assembly, 1873 (Cheyenne, 1874), pp. 192-93. Cheyenne City Council, Minutes of Meetings, January 10, 1870 (Wyoming State Archives and Historical Department, Cheyenne).

for "the taxpayers of the city (including the railroad company's interest) pay nineteen-twentieths of the county taxes."³⁹ There was some justification for this point of view. If the 828 residents of Camp Carlin and Fort Russell are included with Cheyenne's population, only 679 people in the county lived outside Cheyenne. But both city councillors and the county commissioners, themselves businessmen resident in the city, were loathe to levy heavy taxes on the business community which was already in financial straits. Consequently, the two levels of government gave little leadership and made few attempts to solve the problems confronting the city.

The weak record of these administrations was especially evident the search for an adequate water supply. Council felt unable to make the necessary expenditure required for an adequate system and unwilling to grant a monopoly to a private corporation. Nothing had come of the army's promises to bring the water of Crow and Lodge Pole Creeks to the city by ditch and residents were still relying on wells and cisterns. A primitive, makeshift system of ditches from Crow Creek was begun in 1870 by a local private corporation, the Wyoming Ditch and Water Company, and taken over by the city in 1871. Because Crow Creek dried up completely in hot weather, council requested and received a portion of government land for use as a storage

³⁹Leader, April 7, 1873.

reservoir. The small body of water which slowly formed, dubbed Lake Mahpeluta by Glafcke, the new editor of the Leader,⁴⁰ provided the city with only a small quantity of water for irrigation and fire protection. Drinking water was still obtained from private wells. But even though a considerable amount of public money was periodically spent improving and deepening the ditches, by 1874 water was running through the ditches only two days out of seven.⁴¹ The Leader complained about the situation:

After having spent about ten thousand dollars on our ditch and pool, we are today without a drop of water from that source, and there is not probability of getting another drop out of our "frogpond" this season, unless we carry it in a bucket.⁴²

The shortage of water seriously limited the effectiveness of the city's fire protection facilities. The problem was compounded, as in other declining boom towns, by a remarkable degree of apathy, even though fire posed the greatest single threat to property in the city. Municipal fire regulations, especially those specifying safe chimneys and prohibiting piles of rubbish in alleys, were never properly enforced. Nor were protection measures substantially

⁴⁰The lake's name, strangely enough, was taken from Red Cloud's Indian name, Makhpiya-luta. Leader, July 6, 1872.

⁴¹Leader, January 22, 1869; July 6, 8, September 17, November 3, 1870; April 26, June 14, August 21, 1871; March 7, 1872; May 26, 1874. Wyoming Tribune, April 8, 15, 1871. City Council, Minutes, March 8, 15, 22, 1872. U.S., Congressional Globe, 42nd Cong., 1st Sess., 1872, pp. 738-39.

⁴²July 9, 1874.

improved over the earliest days. The purchase of a steam engine for \$4,500, to be paid for by private subscription, did not solve the problem, for the engine was usually in need of repairs when a fire struck.⁴³ A lack of coordination among those who showed some interest in firefighting hampered efficient action. An intense rivalry between the steam engine company and the Pioneer Hook and Ladder Company sometimes resulted in ludicrous scenes at fires. In one case, the hook and ladder company arrived at a fire first, mounted their ladders, and began using buckets to quench the flames. Whereupon the steam engine company arrived and trained their pressure-driven water on both the burning building and members of the hook and ladder company.⁴⁴

Both companies also failed to get enough public support to be effective. The city was forced to levy a special tax to pay an outstanding debt on the steam engine as many residents were unwilling or unable to fulfill their subscription pledges.⁴⁵ The hook and ladder company disbanded during 1870 because of lack of interest.

⁴³ Leader, January 15, 20, February 2, 5, 17, 1869; September 26, 1870. Wyoming Tribune, October 1, 1870.

⁴⁴ Wyoming Tribune, December 11, 1869.

⁴⁵ Wyoming, Session Laws . . . 1869, p. 700. Wyoming, Session Laws . . . 1871, p. 111. Wyoming, Session Laws . . . 1873, pp. 192-93. City Council, Minutes, January 10, 1870. Leader, October 18, 1870.

William Kuykendall and Lawrence Bresnahan revived the group in 1871, and persuaded City Council to provide a lot, some new equipment, and a \$1,100 building to house the equipment. The company maintained the equipment and building by sponsoring various social activities.⁴⁶ But in cases of extreme emergency, the city still relied on the fire fighting crews from Fort Russell and Camp Carlin. It was probably their presence, plus good luck, which prevented this almost completely wooden city from burning to the ground.

In one respect at least, however, municipal officials discovered that life in a languishing community was preferable to that in a hectic boom town. Law enforcement no longer consumed civic energy to the extent that it had during the winter of 1767-1868. Most observers agreed that the town had been "tamed" by 1869; "the day of its orgies is passed away; the scum of the population has moved off to other pastures, and the streets of Cheyenne are as quiet as the streets of other Western cities in which law has conquered license."⁴⁷ The effectiveness of the legal system was also increased after 1869 by the incoming territorial officials, acquainted with established eastern legal systems. They had been less than happy with the condition of

⁴⁶ City Council, Minutes, February 9, 1872, March 7, May 27, 1873. Kuykendall to City Council, February 23, 1873, Bresnahan Papers (in the possession of Miss Winnifred Bresnahan, Cheyenne). Leader, September 27, 1870; May 5, 1871.

⁴⁷ Quoted by Athearn, Westward the Briton, p. 54.

the courts and legal procedures they found when they arrived. One judge claimed that they found the laws of Dakota Territory "so defective or incomprehensible that it has been found impossible to find an offense that can be punished by law,"⁴⁸ and the courts "powerless to enforce criminal laws in cases of high crimes."⁴⁹ They immediately set to work to revise legal procedure to make it conform as much as possible with acceptable eastern practice. Partly on the advice of these officials, the first legislative assembly which met that fall made the laws more intelligible and clarified the structure of the courts.

Under the new territorial organization, law was enforced by local officers at two administrative levels (this was in addition to the federally appointed United States marshal). These usually included three city officers, two policemen and a marshal, and two county officers, a sheriff and a constable. Under this new system, the city's expenses for law enforcement dropped sharply, from \$12,400 in 1869 to \$2,260 in 1872. While these figures seem to indicate that the city had become more law-abiding, the lower city costs were also due to the fact that county officials were taking over increased responsibilities. As the expense of both city and county law enforcement fell primarily upon city

⁴⁸ "Report of Grand Jury of Laramie County, Assisted by J. M. Carey," printed in Leader, June 5, 1869.

⁴⁹ Kingman, Annals of Wyoming, XIV, 224.

taxpayers, the actual cost of law enforcement was not reduced to the extent indicated by the figures.⁵⁰

Law enforcement was becoming a less formidable task primarily because of a decrease in crimes of violence. The practice of carrying dangerous weapons continued to be "too common, consistent with the public safety,"⁵¹ but reports of armed robbery were few. The law took a relatively weak stand against dueling--killing by a duel was a high misdemeanor, not murder⁵² --but duels were far less common or dangerous than legend suggests. In one of the few street gun-fights reported, both participants shot twice and missed each other, but one did hit a twelve-year-old boy in the hand. Both were quickly arrested by the police.⁵³ The city was certainly considered to be far more orderly than the surrounding countryside. Isaac Bard, farming some land near Chugwater Creek about forty miles north of the city, wished that "life and Property [were as] Secure hear as In town."⁵⁴ Officials now had the authority to execute murderers; county Sheriff T. Jeff Carr hanged two Sioux half-breeds, one in

⁵⁰Wyoming, Session Laws . . . 1869, pp. 161-64, 170-71, 698. City Council, Minutes, December 24, 1869; May 26, 30, 1870. Leader, January 4, 5, 1873.

⁵¹Leader, January 3, 1870.

⁵²Wyoming, Session Laws . . . 1869, pp. 102-103.

⁵³Wyoming Tribune, October 29, 1870.

⁵⁴Isaac Bard, Diary, February 22, 1870 (Western Americana Collection, Yale University, New Haven).

1871 and another in 1874.⁵⁵ But the tradition of extra-legal methods died slowly. A certain Franklin, alias Dick Douglas, was hanged by twenty-five masked men for allegedly stealing eleven army mules.⁵⁶

Local officials had made feeble attempts for several years to suppress or at least regulate gambling, but the permissive attitude of residents nullified these measures. The public's point of view was reflected by the territorial legislature which legalized gambling in 1869, overriding Governor Campbell's veto by the necessary two-thirds majority.⁵⁷ Four or five gambling houses operated until the winter of 1869-1870 but the depressed conditions of the city drove most gamblers to more prosperous climes after 1870.⁵⁸

The depression which led to the decline of the gambling establishments evidently did not affect the prosperity of the brothels. About three major houses were in operation during this period. The best known of the madams, Ida Hamilton, was becoming one of the most prosperous citizens and spent considerable sums of money to furnish her

⁵⁵ H. K. Thomas, Diary, April 21, 1871 (Western Americana Collection, Yale University, New Haven).

⁵⁶ Bard, Diary, February 15, 1869. Leader, February 16, 18, 1869.

⁵⁷ Wyoming, Session Laws . . . 1869, pp. 338-39 Leader, December 10, 1869.

⁵⁸ Leader, February 17, 1869; February 1, 1870. Cheyenne Daily Argus, November 12, 1869.

house properly.⁵⁹ The city continued its former policy of periodic fines; Hamilton and other keepers were usually fined \$100 a year.⁶⁰ While the city had the authority to suppress brothels and dance halls, little was done to try to regulate these houses until the spring of 1874 when Mayor I. C. Whipple began a crusade. Despite constant agitation and support from some church groups, he had little success.⁶¹ The matter became a political issue that fall between the newly organized Citizens Reform Association and a group which the Leader dubbed the "Hoodlums." According to the Leader, the Hoodlums included regular church goers, and even Sunday school teachers, who argued that the existence of these places was an economic necessity. Like the good citizens of the Kansas cowtown, Ellsworth, who defended such establishments on the grounds that the Texas cattlemen wanted them and would go elsewhere if they were suppressed, many in Cheyenne also feared that their removal would harm the city's economy. While the two reform candidates for council, John Neal, a blacksmith, and Lawrence Bresnahan, a butcher, were not opposed in the election, they had little success. Like their

⁵⁹A. R. Converse Books, June 17, September 16, October 18, 1870, Warren Collection (Western History Research Center, University of Wyoming, Laramie).

⁶⁰Laramie County, District Court, Criminal Appearance Dockets, March 24, 1871; March 30, 1872; August 14, 1873 (Wyoming State Archives and Historical Department, Cheyenne).

⁶¹City Council, Minutes, May 29, June 5, 1874.

predecessors they were not given whole-hearted support to enable them to enforce stricter measures.⁶²

The disillusionment and depression which hampered the effectiveness of city government was more evident in the weakness of most social institutions. One of the best examples was the decline in strength and influence of the local press; as in previous frontier cities, there was a direct relationship between the success of newspapers and urban growth.⁶³ The unpropitious economic picture, however, did not discourage a profusion of attempts to establish daily newspapers. By the fall of 1871, four years after the city's founding, eleven papers had started publication. Of these, only the Cheyenne Leader, and, temporarily, the Wyoming Tribune, were still in business, the other nine having failed. Six of the unsuccessful ventures were founded from 1869 to 1871 and lasted for only a few months at most. More successful than most was the Wyoming Tribune, founded in late 1869 by Edward M. Lee, the original territorial secretary. Lee scandalized the community by living openly with a notorious prostitute, but the Tribune was given stature by the effective work of the editor, Samuel A.

⁶²Leader, December 18, 19, 21, 22, 28, 29, 1874. Robert Dykstra, "Ellsworth, 1869-1875: The Rise and Fall of a Kansas Cowntown," Kansas Historical Review, XXVII (Summer, 1961), 169-70.

⁶³Richard Wade, The Urban Frontier, Pioneer Life in Early Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Lexington, Louisville, and St. Louis (Chicago, [1959] 1964), pp. 251-52.

Bristol. He and a partner bought the paper from Lee in 1871, but the paper failed in 1872.⁶⁴ Bristol remained in local journalism as the business manager of the Leader.

Other abortive newspaper ventures during these years were the Wyoming Daily Morning News, the Wyoming Railroad Advocate, the Wyoming Daily News, the Weekly Rocky Mountain News, and the Cheyenne Sun.⁶⁵ Some of these were simply periodic attempts by local Democrats to give their party a voice, but clearly the field was "too small and the laborers too many." The editor of the Wyoming Daily Morning News complained that "newspaper business in our city is obviously overdone--overdone to a degree perfectly ridiculous and preposterous." Deciding to go to Salt Lake City to try his luck there, he gave his reasons for leaving the field:

The publication of even a small daily paper in Cheyenne involves a cash outlay for labor, telegrams, papers and contingent expenses of \$200 per week. . . . The daily journal, like the French opera, is not for small villages--not for young towns struggling for existence--nor for "magic cities" with shadowy and remote prospects. The daily paper is for communities bounding with life, energy and vitality.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ Wyoming Tribune, February 4, 1871. Leader, August 14, 1871; September 22, 1873. J. M. Carey, "Politics and People," Cheyenne, c. 1885 (Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley). Elizabeth Keen, "Wyoming's Frontier Newspapers," Annals of Wyoming, XXXIII (October, 1961), 140-41.

⁶⁵ Wyoming Tribune, June 11, 1870; February 4, 1871. Leader, May 1, June 2, 1871; March 3, 1876. Keen, Annals of Wyoming, XXXIII, 141-2. This unsuccessful Sun apparently had no connection with the paper founded by E. A. Slack in 1876.

⁶⁶ Wyoming Daily Morning News (Cheyenne), April 30, 1871.

The city's only successful paper, the Leader, also felt the prevailing hard times. Baker was forced to reduce the size of the paper in 1871 and reminded subscribers of "the discouragements to be encountered in publishing a daily newspaper here, in times like the present."⁶⁷ He also announced that he would no longer carry "dead advertising," the ads of merchants no longer paying for them, in order to give the impression of prosperity as so many western papers were doing.⁶⁸ Because of the continued depressed condition of the city, Baker finally decided in early 1872 to return to Denver, the scene of his earliest journalistic endeavors. Part of his interest in the Leader was sold to the new territorial secretary, Herman Glafcke, who took charge of editorial and financial policy. That fall Baker sold his remaining interest in the Leader to Glafcke and turned his attention to various business ventures, including "artistic publishing," in Denver.⁶⁹ Thus ended four and one-half years of passionate allegiance to the interests of Cheyenne. Perhaps more than any other single individual, Baker had created the finer side of the early city's character; more

⁶⁷ Leader, July 6, 1872.

⁶⁸ Leader, October 2, 1871.

⁶⁹ Leader, March 28, April 1, 1872. Keen, Annals of Wyoming, XXIV (April, 1962), 65. In financial difficulties in Denver late in 1873, Baker returned to Cheyenne to work for Glafcke, but evidently returned to Denver soon. Nolie Mumey, Nathan Addison Baker (Denver, 1965), pp. 115-19.

than any other single factor, the Leader had moulded the conglomerate population into a self-conscious community.

Glafcke, upon taking over the Leader, declared that he was determined to give residents the best reading matter available. For a short time he published a monthly supplement, a magazine called The Wyoming Monthly Souvenir. Like other moralistic periodicals published in the country during this period, his magazine contained "choice stories and miscellaneous reading matter for the family and fireside."⁷⁰ Glafcke also fitted up a public reading room with the latest eastern papers and other reading material and hoped it would become the news and literary headquarters of the city.⁷¹ The continuing hard times, however, forced Glafcke to abandon his scheme to raise the reading tastes of Cheyenne's residents and eventually he also reduced the size of the Leader.⁷²

Like the newspapers which rose in great profusion but found difficulty in remaining alive, an increasing number of little church organizations in Cheyenne struggled for existence in an indifferent city. A local editor who greeted the organization of the fifth congregation in 1869 by declaring that "Cheyenne is likely to be known among her western

⁷⁰ Leader, September 7, 1872. Robert R. Roberts, "Gilt, Gingerbread, and Realism: The Public and Its Taste," The Gilded Age: A Reappraisal, ed. H. Wayne Morgan (Syracuse, N.Y., [1963] 1964), p. 183.

⁷¹ Leader, August 20, 1872.

⁷² Leader, January 6, 1874.

sisters as the 'City of Churches,'"⁷³ later admitted that the residents "certainly [were] not a church going people."⁷⁴ The wife of Governor Campbell, dismayed by the condition of the churches she found on her arrival in 1869, later recalled:

It seems rather too comprehensive to speak of the congregations, the word would not apply to the small companies who came to hear the preachers. As a rule, the population did not attend the churches. . . . A score of persons was considered a fair audience.⁷⁵

A Methodist minister who arrived in the city in 1871 was discouraged "to have such small audiences in so large a town." He confided to his diary: "O for the faith and power of the fathers to cause a stir among these Cheyenne dry bones."⁷⁶

The impetus for new congregations, as well as constant support and encouragement, continued to come from the more established parts of the country. The missionary societies of the Congregationalist and Presbyterian churches planted congregations in the city during 1869, adding to those started by the Methodists, Episcopalians, and Catholics during the first winter. Congregationalist activity was begun under the auspices of the Home Missionary Society in Chicago which had surveyed the towns along the Union Pacific and

⁷³Wyoming Tribune, November 20, 1869.

⁷⁴Wyoming Tribune, April 8, 1871.

⁷⁵[Mrs. J. A. Campbell], Wyoming Historical Collections, I, 217.

⁷⁶Henry Clay Waltz, Diary, January 14, 1872 (Western History Research Center, University of Wyoming, Laramie). (Typescript.)

discovered several people willing to form a Congregationalist church in Cheyenne. Jerome D. Davis, a Union veteran and recent graduate of Chicago Theological Seminary, had apparently asked to be sent to "the hardest field west of the Mississippi River" and was told that Cheyenne met these requirements.⁷⁷ A church building costing about \$3,000 was soon erected; about half the money was raised locally, the rest by the denomination's Church Building Society and individuals in the East.⁷⁸ Despite energetic activity in the community for two years, Davis was only able to raise the congregation's membership from thirteen to fifteen. Four protestant churches were now serving a population of 1,500 and Davis concluded: "Our work here has degenerated into a sectarian work. One of the four churches will hold all that ever go to church. . . . After all, it is not a question of who does the work, so much, if it is done."⁷⁹ He therefore decided to go to Japan as a missionary where he felt his energy could be put to better use.

The driving force behind the organization of the Presbyterian congregation was the irrepressible Sheldon Jackson, Superintendent of Presbyterian Missions for the

⁷⁷ Clerk's Minutes, I (First Congregational Church Archives, Cheyenne), 3. J. Merle Davis, Davis, Soldier Missionary (Boston, 1916), p. 102.

⁷⁸ Clerk's Minutes, I, 4. Leader, August 7, 1869. Davis, Davis . . ., p. 107.

⁷⁹ Quoted by Davis, Davis . . ., p. 115.

Northwest. By raising contributions across the country, Jackson built his famous "Raven Fund," which enabled him "to offer substantial aid" to the building of local Presbyterian churches. In Cheyenne, Jackson offered local Presbyterians \$5,000 aid and made one of his local missionaries, Rev. John L. Gage, available as the first pastor.⁸⁰ Jackson also arranged for a Chicago contractor to construct a building costing about \$8,000, and had it shipped to Cheyenne. The building was described as having "towers and spire, in regular church style, as one sees them down east."⁸¹ At its dedication by Jackson in 1870, the church was named the Krebs Memorial, in honor of a former pastor of a New York City congregation which had contributed part of the construction cost.⁸² Like other congregations in the city, however, membership remained small and the congregation had great difficulty in raising enough money to pay the minister's salary.

All three original congregations had their difficulties during these years. For a time, the Catholic priest was

⁸⁰ Minutes of Session, 1869-1884, Vol. I (First Presbyterian Church Archives, Cheyenne). Leader, June 3, 5, 12, 1869. Robert L. Stewart, Sheldon Jackson (New York, 1908), pp. 101-03, 111-13. Colin B. Goodykoontz, Home Missions on the American Frontier (Caldwell, Idaho, 1939), p. 319. W. W. Sweet, The Story of Religion in America (New York, 1950), p. 361.

⁸¹ Leader, July 18, 1870.

⁸² Minutes of Session, Vol. I, July 17, 1870. Leader, July 17, 19, September 10, 1869; May 23, July 14, 18, 1870. Stewart, Sheldon Jackson, pp. 174-76.

in charge of all of Wyoming and could hardly have done effective work in Cheyenne. In 1872, however, the attendance at the Catholic church was reported to be the largest in the city.⁸³ The Methodists, once the strongest congregation, also did not usually have a full-time pastor resident in the city. The Cheyenne congregation, reported "weak numerically," formed a circuit with Laramie and Greeley, Colorado.⁸⁴ The Episcopalians languished after the departure of Joseph W. Cook in 1870 and a rapid turnover of pastors left the congregation virtually leaderless.⁸⁵

The financial and numerical weakness of the churches in the city during this period may be attributed to both the economic depression and public indifference. But the press blamed the ineffectiveness and obscurity of the ministers for some of the difficulties of the congregations. The Wyoming Tribune declared: "The world of today cares but little about the color of Nebuchadnezzar's breeches, or how striped was the coat of Joseph. . . . The people long for something

⁸³Patrick McGovern, History of the Diocese of Cheyenne (Cheyenne, 1941), p. 30. Leader, April 24, 1871, March 26, 1872.

⁸⁴Malcom Libni Cook, "The Methodist Episcopal Church in Wyoming, 1867-1888" (unpublished Master's thesis, Denver University, 1956), pp. 25-27. Leader, January 9, September 10, 1869; July 15, 1870. Methodist Episcopal Church, Minutes of the Proceedings of the Eleventh Session of the Colorado Annual Conference, 1873 (Denver, 1873), p. 26.

⁸⁵Parish Register, Vol. I, April 24, 1870; April 8, 1877 (St. Mark's Episcopal Church Archives, Cheyenne).

of the living present, which they do not already know."⁸⁶

The Leader echoed this sentiment: ministers would have to change the style and character of their sermons or they would "preach to empty seats in the future as they have in the past."⁸⁷

After Glafcke attended a service at which he said a "restless and yawning" congregation was forced to listen to theological arguments they had heard thousands of times, he pointedly asked:

Indeed, when public sentiment permits and maintains the dens of vice in as close proximity to the church as they can be, to be on the opposite side of the street, to debauch the Sunday school children who congregate about the doors of the sanctuary, is it not about time the minister ceased dealing in theological theories and philosophical thoughts. . . .⁸⁸

While most ministers concerned themselves with theological subtleties, or at best, evangelistic revivalism, some of the ministers actively attacked some of the community's gravest ills. The best example of the latter was Josiah Strong who replaced Davis at the Congregationalist church. Strong later achieved a national reputation as an advocate of the "social gospel" (and imperialism); his ideas and methods undoubtedly were influenced by his two-year stay in Cheyenne. His theological training, which he had just completed before coming to Cheyenne,

⁸⁶Wyoming Tribune, April 8, 1871.

⁸⁷February 4, 1873.

⁸⁸Leader, February 21, 1873.

helps explain his theological approach, for Lane Theological Seminary in Cincinnati was considered to be one of the most liberal institutions of its kind.⁸⁹ Liberal rather than orthodox theology became the basis for the social gospel which men like Strong soon began to advocate everywhere in the country.⁹⁰ Strong's approach became evident in sermon topics such as "Christian Growth," but even more so in his growing concern to apply Christianity to social problems. He felt that the city's greatest social evil was prostitution and his sermons indicate the practical bent of his thinking: "The decay in Morals, and one of the causes"; "The Social Evil and its Remedy"; "Woe to him that buildeth a town with blood, and establisheth a city by iniquity."⁹¹

Strong was not content to merely preach about the evil effect of prostitution in Cheyenne; he believed it his duty to destroy the practice by helping the "wayward women of the town" to reform themselves. He personally visited every brothel and tried to convince these women to give up their occupation, and he also organized a society whose members (mostly women from his congregation) continued these

⁸⁹Dorothea R. Muller, "Josiah Strong and the Challenge of the City" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1956), pp. 4-5.

⁹⁰Charles H. Hopkins, The Rise of the Social Gospel in American Protestantism, 1865-1915 (New Haven, 1940), pp. 15, 24-49.

⁹¹Leader, November 25, 1871; February 8, 22, April 5, 1873.

visits. Strong and several others offered their houses as a refuge for any who wished to give up the profession. The entire program was marked by an almost complete lack of success although one of the "most notable" of these women was said to have accepted Strong's offer and later returned to her family in the East.⁹² Strong's failure in this respect, as well as the difficulties of his pastorate in general, led him to conclude that "building up a church on the frontier is much like filling a sieve with water or like the task of Ulysses."⁹³ His later career reflects the concerns developed in Cheyenne. In his books, Our Country: Its Possible Future and Its Present Crisis (1885), The Twentieth Century City (1898), and The Challenge of the City (1907), he warned of the dangers of urban life and insisted that the problems of the city would have to be met if society were to be redeemed.⁹⁴

In sharp contrast to Strong's liberal approach was the orthodoxy of the Methodist minister, Henry Clay Waltz. While he attended Strong's original meeting to organize a society to reclaim prostitutes, he "thought it all premature

⁹²W. G. Kephart, Minister of the Presbyterian Church, to the Editor, Leader, February 6, 1873. Leader, March 11, 1872. Waltz, Diary, March 19, 1872.

⁹³Quoted by Maurine Carley, A History of the First Congregational Church of Cheyenne, 1869-1957 (Cheyenne, 1957), p. 5.

⁹⁴Muller, "Josiah Strong . . . , " p. 11.

and so took no interest in it."⁹⁵ His conception of a minister's role was evidently illustrated by a resolution he presented at his church's annual conference the following year: "That the habit of Sunday visiting, or calling or pleasure walking or riding, is a growing evil."⁹⁶

While Cheyenne was becoming relatively isolated on the frontier, intellectual trends influencing religion nationally made some impact locally. This was the case in Strong's advocacy of liberalism. The theories of Darwin also became something of a local issue. H. G. Adams, the Methodist minister in Cheyenne in 1873 and editor of the religious paper of the local Methodists, applauded Professor Louis Agassiz's rejection of Darwin: "Men whose hearts were right have always been found . . . to show up the fallacies of learned men who suffer their skeptical prejudices to cloud their judgement and lead them into false positions."⁹⁷ On the other hand, Davis at the Congregationalist Church was reported to have preached a sermon which "reconciled the researches of modern science with the divinely inspired account given in the first chapter of Geniasis [sic]."⁹⁸

⁹⁵Waltz, Diary, March 19, 1872.

⁹⁶Methodist Episcopal Church, Minutes of the Proceedings of the Tenth Session of the Colorado Annual Conference, 1872 (Denver, 1872), p. 21

⁹⁷District Methodist (Greeley), July, 1873.

⁹⁸Wyoming Tribune, March 5, 1870.

Local conditions which weakened the position of the press and church also checked the development of the school system, yet in this particular field more progress was evident than in most others. In a sense, any change would have been an improvement over the condition of the school up to 1871. During the winter of 1869-1870, the average attendance was seventy-eight, but students were as yet ungraded. "The miserable apology" for a school house was described as "a loosely built wooden shack with two rooms . . . through whose roof the first winter blizzard showered upon us a fine mist of snow."⁹⁹ The Wyoming Tribune concluded that Cheyenne was "certainly behind the age in this respect" for the Colorado towns, Central City and Black Hawk, had spent \$20,000 and \$15,000 respectively for schools, and even Laramie boasted a decent school.¹⁰⁰ In an obvious attempt to stir local residents to action, the Wyoming Tribune reported that an eastern businessman, planning to move to Cheyenne, had decided against it, not wishing to bring his children to a city with virtually no educational facilities.¹⁰¹

Agitation for a new school finally resulted in public

⁹⁹ Quoted by George J. Bale, "A History of the Development of Territorial Public Education in the State of Wyoming" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Wyoming, 1938), p. 77. Wyoming Tribune, March 12, 1870, April 1, 1871. Leader, March 12, 1870.

¹⁰⁰ March 4, 1871.

¹⁰¹ March 11, 1871.

action. Residents of the local school district (the entire city of Cheyenne, known as Laramie County School District No. 1) voted a tax of fifteen mills for the construction of a new school, and a local builder was awarded a contract for \$7,681.¹⁰² The Leader answered the charges of those businessmen who feared that taxes would now rise to impossible heights by pointing out that only about \$3,000 of this amount would be raised by residents of the city. The city's largest taxpayers, the Union Pacific and Denver Pacific railroads, would be bearing the balance of the cost.¹⁰³ County school taxes, however, were raised from two to five mills the following year, for the total cost of the school house eventually rose to about \$13,000.¹⁰⁴ The new two-storey, red brick school house became the pride of the city. Residents believed it impressed travellers with the progressive nature of the city, for situated on the highest ground within the city, it was the first building seen by railroad passengers as they approached the city.¹⁰⁵

The quality of education improved after the completion of the school in the spring of 1872. By the standards of the

¹⁰² Leader, May 16, June 14, 1871. J. H. Triggs, History of Cheyenne and Northern Wyoming, Embracing the Gold Fields of the Black Hills, Powder River and Big Horn Countries (Omaha, 1876), p. 31.

¹⁰³ June 15, 1871.

¹⁰⁴ Laramie County, Commissioners, Minutes of Meetings, August 13, 1872 (Wyoming State Archives and Historical Department, Cheyenne).

¹⁰⁵ Triggs, History of Cheyenne . . ., pp. 31-32.

old school, the "equipment seemed . . . almost royal,"¹⁰⁶ but more important was the change in the calibre of teaching. A new principal, N. E. Stark, began his long tenure in the fall of 1872. In contrast to those amateur principals and teachers who preceded him, Stark was a professional and was said to have had fifteen years experience in eastern schools. He was soon engaged in a vigorous campaign to increase the enrollment, especially by writing articles for the Leader. His success was dramatically indicated by the enrollment figures; by the spring of 1873 there were 125 students compared to 49 during the spring of 1871. The number of children in the community certainly had not risen by this proportion. Stark was also said to have graded the pupils "on the same basis as that of the best graded schools in the New England states."¹⁰⁷ He himself taught the oldest children in a senior division and was assisted by two female teachers who taught the primary and intermediate grades.

In addition to new facilities and capable administration, one other factor tended to improve the educational picture in Cheyenne during this period. The territorial legislature set the minimum school term at three months and, like other western territories and states in this period, made

¹⁰⁶

Quoted by Bale, "History . . . ," p. 77.

¹⁰⁷

Triggs, History of Cheyenne . . ., p. 32. Leader, May 25, 1871; June 1, 6, 9, 20, July 7, 1873. Cheyenne Daily News, June 17, 1875.

education compulsory in 1873. Like cities everywhere in the country, Cheyenne led the drive for longer school terms in the Territory, soon lengthening the term to ten months in the city.¹⁰⁸

One parochial school, that of the Episcopalians, relieved the public system of part of the burden of education. In 1869 an addition to the rectory served as a school building; by 1874 a high school for girls, charging \$5 a month, was opened at the rectory.¹⁰⁹ The Roman Catholics, on the other hand, had as yet not taken steps to establish a school. In contrast to Denver where separate schools were established only a year after the public schools, Cheyenne's Catholics must have been too weak during this period to support their own school.¹¹⁰

While education increasingly received the support of the community, the same could not be said of cultural activities. A frontier village mentality characterized the public's attitude to a few feeble efforts which struggled fitfully and died for lack of interest. The Young Men's Literary Club, a flourishing and dynamic organization in 1868, was reported to have met only once in these years, to debate

¹⁰⁸ Bale, "History . . . ," pp. 102-03. McKelvey, The Urbanization of America . . ., p. 170.

¹⁰⁹ Leader, September 4, 1869; September 4, 1874.

¹¹⁰ William H. Jones, The History of Catholic Education in the State of Colorado (Washington, 1955), pp. 67-74.

a particularly volatile subject to Westerners, Chinese immigration.¹¹¹ More interest was shown for a time in the Literary and Library Association. The guiding light of this organization was Josiah Strong, who believed that a library would have a beneficial effect on society.

There are few better safeguards to the morals of the young than a suitable library, of easy access. Doubtless with such a library, our long winter evenings would contribute to the culture of our young men, who would otherwise employ their time to the injury of themselves and others.¹¹²

Strong's moralistic motives dominated the thinking of others supporting the organization. Herman Glafcke felt that a library was necessary to fill the time of the city's young men because there were so few young women to occupy their attentions. But Glafcke also hinted at another reason for the association--community pride. Laramie had initiated a similar organization and it was time that Cheyenne caught up.¹¹³ The Association was perfected in early 1873 with J. M. Carey as president and Strong as secretary. Local talent, such as the Cheyenne Dramatic Troupe, presented plays to raise money for books, and shares of \$5 each were sold and subscriptions pledged. But like other attempts to raise the cultural level of the community, this one was frustrated

¹¹¹ Wyoming Tribune, January 28, 1871. Leader, January 26, 1871.

¹¹² Strong to the Editor, Leader, November 26, 1872.

¹¹³ Leader, April 29, November 15, 1872.

by hard times and public indifference. It would be many years before the city would get a public library and then it would be the result of an outside gift.¹¹⁴

The general lack of interest in the cultural side of life also affected the theater, especially legitimate theater. The number of productions presented dropped sharply in comparison to the activity of the first year, indicating that boom town prosperity was necessary for active theater as illustrated by San Francisco, Virginia City, Butte, and, later, Seattle.¹¹⁵ While 1869 was still a relatively active year with the Jack S. Langrische Dramatic Company presenting twenty-four productions in the spring, for example, the years from 1870 to 1874 witnessed the virtual death of legitimate theater in the city with less than half a dozen productions in 1874.¹¹⁶

The public's taste was better served by the variety theater, although only two, McDaniel's Theater and James Allen's Gold Room Varieties, had any measure of success during these years. McDaniel completed his huge establishment,

¹¹⁴ Leader, January 17, 21, 22, 25, 27, April 9, 1872. Cheyenne Daily Sun, March 29, 1879.

¹¹⁵ Glen Hughes, A History of the American Theatre, 1700-1950 (New York, 1951), pp. 226-27, 306.

¹¹⁶ Leader, February 8, May 1, 1869. Harold E. and Ernestine Briggs, "The Early Theater on the Northern Plains," MVHR, XXXVII (September, 1950), 253-54. William Campton Bell, "A History of the Theatrical Activities of Cheyenne, Wyoming" (unpublished Master's thesis, Northwestern University, 1935), pp. 50-59.

more elaborate than the typical variety theater in the frontier-West, early in 1869. He consciously styled himself as the "Barnum of the West" and even had the great showman lecture in his theater.¹¹⁷

By 1870 McDaniel's establishment served as an unofficial community center. In addition to being the headquarters of the Big Horn expedition, the auditorium was used for most public meetings, and even church festivals and concerts were held there. City officials recognized his services to the community by relieving him of paying licence fees for productions in his theater, and leading businessmen sponsored a complimentary benefit on his behalf.¹¹⁸ But some residents believed that the atmosphere at McDaniel's made it unfit for many community functions. Led by M. A. Arnold, a group built the Recreation Hall in 1872 which was rented to church groups, local dramatic societies, and an occasional legitimate troupe. The owners found themselves in financial difficulty in 1874 and rented the building to McDaniel who renamed it the Cheyenne Opera House, but it

¹¹⁷ Leader, January 18, May 6, 12, June 29, 1869; October 17, 1871. Wyoming Tribune, June 25, 1870. Harold E. Briggs, "Early Variety Theaters in the Trans-Mississippi West," Mid-America, XXXIV (Spring, 1952), 188-202. Melvin Schoberlin, From Candles to Footlights, A Biography of the Pike's Peak Theatre, 1859-1876 (Denver, 1941), pp. 188-89.

¹¹⁸ City Council, Minutes, July 29, 1870. Leader, July 16, 1870.

also continued to serve its function as a community hall.¹¹⁹

Even public social activity was affected by the mood of the town. Baker of the Leader complained in 1870: "The social element is almost entirely ignored in our present mode of life. Were it not for the Churches we should have no social intercourse."¹²⁰

Some organizations in addition to the churches continued to sponsor social events, but their members were few. Among the more active were the firemen's clubs which usually sponsored the Fourth of July celebrations. A "Pleasant Hours Club" was organized in 1874 and held dances in Recreation Hall.¹²¹ For the city's elite, especially the territorial officials and the wealthiest merchants, Fort Russell "contributed largely to [their] social life." As Mrs. Campbell recalled:

The officers and their wives were cultured, intelligent and generous in dispensing hospitality. To drive out to dress parade and listen to the good music of the military band was the great daily society event during the pleasant season.¹²²

Among the sporting activities residents enjoyed, baseball and horseracing were the most popular. At least three

¹¹⁹ Leader, August 27, 1872; June 11, 1874. Briggs and Briggs, MVHR, XXXVII, 250.

¹²⁰ May 20, 1870.

¹²¹ Leader, July 5, 1871; June 18, 1873; October 10, December 4, 1874. Annie K. Parshall, "In Retrospect," Quarterly Bulletin of the Wyoming State Historical Society, I (April, 1924), 14-16.

¹²² [Mrs. J. A. Campbell], Wyoming Historical Collections, I. 216.

baseball clubs were in operation during the summer of 1869 as the new national sport caught on quickly in the West. That fall, the Fort Laramie Alerts trounced the Cheyenne Wyomings 60 to 43 to win the territorial championship. Like the residents of most small frontier communities, several of Cheyenne's citizens built a fairly elaborate race track and owned their own horses. Races attracted entries from Denver, Salt Lake City, Omaha, and Laramie.¹²³ The very earliest evidence of a modern western rodeo in Cheyenne took place during the Fourth of July celebrations in 1872. A jockey riding a Texas steer was described as the "most exciting and laughable part of the programme."¹²⁴ "Bronco busting," on the other hand, was regarded as an unusual and cruel sport in 1873.¹²⁵

The general state of the social and cultural institutions during the early 1870's directly mirrored the economic difficulties of the young community. Cheyenne's few residents obviously were too concerned with shoring up the city's economic structure to turn their attentions to the finer things of life. Without the constant large influx of eastern immigration, society also lost some of its national flavor and became more provincial. Thus, the frontier

¹²³ Leader, April 29, May 8, June 2, 7, July 16, September 29, 1869; July 6, 1872; May 27, 1873.

¹²⁴ Leader, July 6, 1872.

¹²⁵ Leader, September 11, 1873.

environment, in the sense of isolation from established society rather than social disorganization, diluted and weakened the institutions which had been brought to the frontier city by the earliest immigrants.

PART III

THE NORTHERN EMPIRE, 1875-1880

CHAPTER VII

THE WAY NORTH: THE BLACK HILLS GOLD RUSH

On March 8, 1876, the first issue of a new paper, the Cheyenne Daily Sun, heralded a new day for Cheyenne:

Wyoming Territory in general and Cheyenne in particular have about passed through the leaden morning of existence. For the past eight years, they have struggled along with no very encouraging prospects; but at last the clouds have disappeared.

The reference was not necessarily to the Sun's appearance although the editor, E. A. Slack, probably considered his venture symbolic of the new dispensation. The city's new confidence was largely the result of the exciting prospects offered by the Black Hills gold rush. For three years, 1875, 1876, and 1877, Cheyenne became one of the major distributing centers to this new mining region. The dreams of a northern empire seemed about to be realized. Even though the prosperity achieved because of the gold rush was more apparent than real, the flurry of activity led to renewed confidence in the future of the city. Less dramatic, but of more significance eventually, was the steadily growing cattle industry in the city's vicinity. Thus, by 1876, while the national economy was still stagnating and while the urban population of states such as Missouri, Nebraska, and Utah was

declining,¹ Cheyenne was emerging from its depression because of local conditions, a gold rush and the beef bonanza.

Cheyenne's involvement in the Black Hills gold rush is an example of the way in which a city could actively promote the development of a new region. Cheyenne's residents had looked north for their economic salvation despite the ill-fated Big Horn expedition. The promotion of the gold rush and the action taken to become an outfitting and distributing center was, therefore, the result of a conscious, deliberate policy for over five years. A local publicist's claims in this respect bear some relation to the actual situation.

Cheyenne and Wyoming have, with work, money and influence, done more to bring about the settlement and development of the Hills than all adjacent states and territories combined. Our public men have secured legislation; our capital and energy have built roads and telegraph lines; have opened mines and constructed mills, and have, from the first, furnished more swift and reliable means of communication and more hearty support to all Black Hills enterprises than all other commonwealths together.²

In becoming a distributing center to a group of new mining communities, Cheyenne was not in the fortunate position of Denver which had emerged as the major distributing center to a number of Colorado mining camps. Cheyenne was

¹Adna Ferrin Weber, The Growth of Cities in the Nineteenth Century (Ithaca, [1899] 1963), p. 27.

²Robert Strahorn, The Hand-Book of Wyoming and Guide to the Black Hills and Big Horn Regions for Citizen, Emigrant and Tourist (Cheyenne, 1877), pp. 385-86.

only one of several centers which encircled the Black Hills and competed for the trade of a relatively concentrated group of new towns. Rivalling Cheyenne were a host of hopefuls, including: Sidney, Nebraska, also on the Union Pacific; Yankton, Dakota, and Sioux City, Iowa, to the east; and Bismarck, Dakota, to the northeast. All of these centers hoped to increase their status within the midwestern metropolitan mosaic dominated by Chicago. Their position was similar to that of the secondary commercial cities which sprang up during the California gold rush--Sacramento, Stockton, and Marysville--which looked to San Francisco for metropolitan leadership.³

The role of a city in the development of a new mining region is as complex as the city itself. This is especially true if the city consciously involves itself in the process. Among the most important actions of Cheyenne were its continuing efforts, on various levels, to open the Black Hills to white man's exploitation. Because the gold-bearing area was a Sioux reservation, the city devoted part of its energy to convincing the federal government to abrogate the Indian treaties or perhaps purchase the area. A more effective type of pressure was the great amount of publicity emanating from Cheyenne in the years from 1869 to 1875 about the potential wealth of the Hills. One aspect of this publicity was the

³ Rodman Paul, Mining Frontiers of the Far West, 1848-1880 (New York, 1963), p. 21.

rivalry between Cheyenne and the other aspiring distributing centers. Several cities claimed to be the best point of departure for the mines and blanketed the country with literature proving their route to be safer and shorter than that of any rival. This publicity helped to interest the thousands who came to try their luck in the new Eldorado. Their virtual invasion overwhelmed the army and the Indians. Their occupation of the region was recognized by the federal authorities by late 1875 and by the Sioux who ceded the region in early 1877.

The presence of gold in the Black Hills had been an article of faith to Cheyenne's residents for several years before 1874. Local newspapers had printed every possible bit of evidence to support these beliefs and had published dozens of letters from persons purporting to be experts about the north in general and about the Black Hills in particular. The federal government discounted these reports for several years in hopes of protecting the Indians. But they unwittingly strengthened rumors by sending Lt.-Col. George A. Custer to explore the region in 1874. His dispatches, and the stories of the correspondents who accompanied him, told of finding gold in paying quantities. The results of the expedition immediately received full coverage in the local press and on the national level in the Chicago InterOcean and Harper's Weekly.⁴ The Commissioner of Indian Affairs

⁴ Hyman Palais, "Some Aspects of the Black Hills

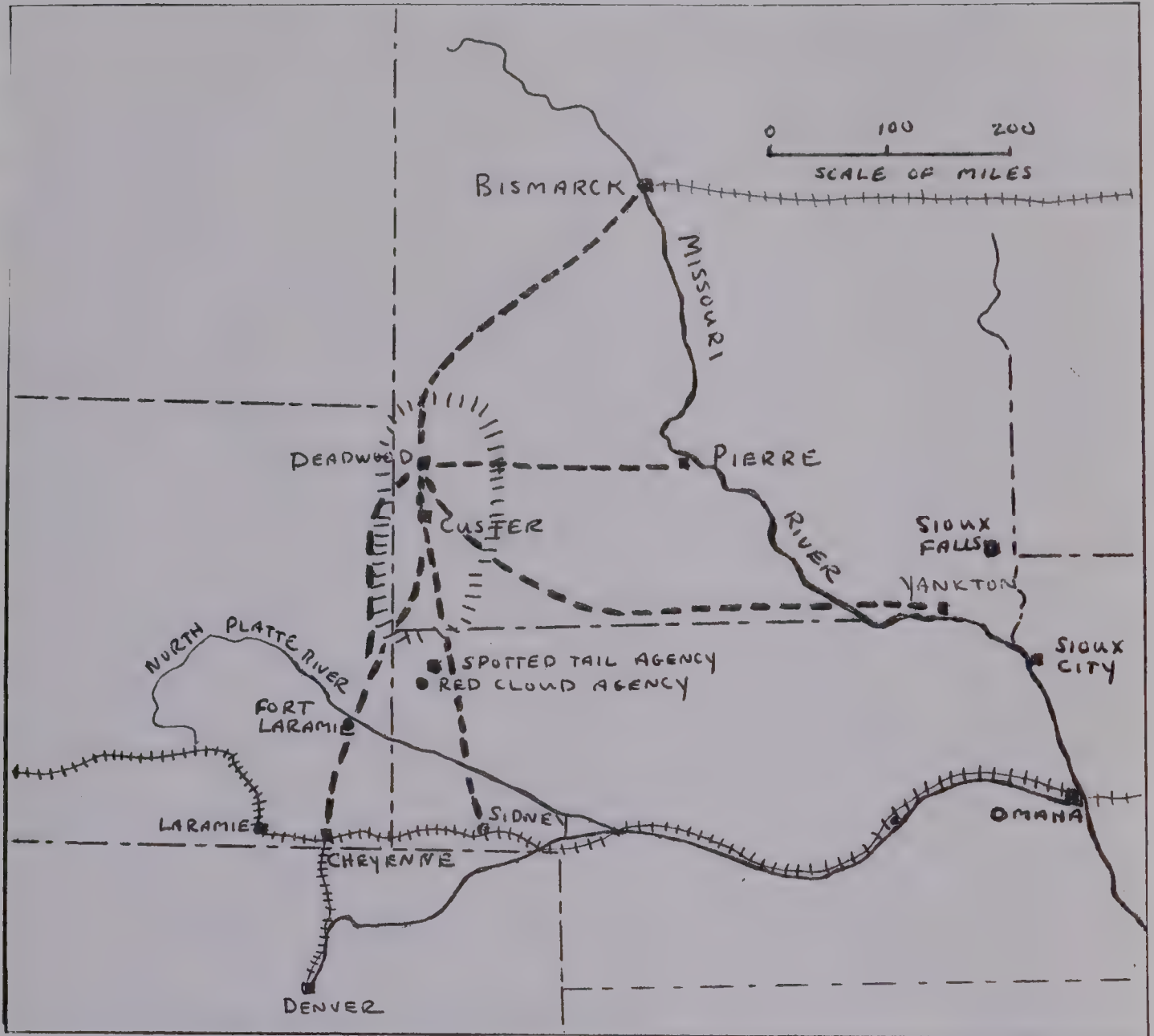


Fig. 7--Major Routes to the Black Hills, 1875-1878

bitterly denounced the reports which "intensified the eagerness of the people all along the border to take possession of this country."⁵ The rush was on. Cheyenne merchants were reported building up their stocks of miners' supplies to take advantage of the expected onslaught of miners bound for the Hills.⁶

Doubts about the existence of gold in paying quantities, however, were still being expressed by the spring of 1875. Cheyenne's residents were angered by reports that the geologist, Ferdinand V. Hayden, who had originally declared the region to be rich in minerals, was now denying his former statements. "The 'Professors' never will know what they are talking about," warned the fledgling Cheyenne Daily News.⁷ But other voices also questioned the claims. The Omaha Daily Bee charged that "the whole thing looks like a grand put up job to gull the public for the benefit of a few sharpers in and around Sioux City and Cheyenne,

Gold Rush Compared with the California Gold Rush," Pacific Historical Review, XV (1946), 61.

⁵ U.S., Congress, House, "Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs," Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 43rd Cong., 2nd Sess., 1874, Exec. Doc. 1, pp. 317-18. U.S., Congress, House, "Annual Report of the Commander, Department of the Platte," Report of the Secretary of War, 43rd Cong., 2nd Sess., 1874, Exec. Doc. 1, p. 33. Leader, April 18, August 27, 1874. James C. Olson, Red Cloud and the Sioux Problem (Lincoln, 1965), pp. 172-73.

⁶ Leader, September 12, 1874.

⁷ April 1, 1875.

the two principal starting-points."⁸

If doubt existed in the minds of others, residents of Cheyenne did not appear to allow these misgivings to dampen their optimism and enthusiasm. The News reported that the Black Hills were "just now the all absorbing topic to the exclusion of everything else."⁹ Immigrants from various parts of the country shared their interest. In April the city was described as "literally filled to overflowing with strangers from all parts of the country," and the press estimated that "there are now nearly 2,000 transient people in Cheyenne, and every hotel as well as a great many private houses are filled to overflowing."¹⁰ Doubts about gold in the Black Hills were finally dispelled in June, 1875, by the findings of a scientific expedition led by Walter P. Jenny under the direction of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.¹¹ Cheyenne's residents had followed the progress of the expedition, fitted out in the city, with more than usual interest. The news that Jenny found men mining gold in paying quantities was wired to Cheyenne from

⁸ March 17, 1875.

⁹ April 7, 1875.

¹⁰ Cheyenne Daily News, March 31, April 19, 1875, hereafter cited as News. Leader, March 23, 1875.

¹¹ U.S., Congress, House, "Walter P. Jenney's Report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs," Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 44th Cong., 1st Sess., 1875, Exec. Doc. 1, pp. 683-85.

Fort Laramie and announced to the city's residents by a Leader bulletin posted at McDaniel's Theater. According to the Leader, this official confirmation "created much joy and enthusiasm. Fireworks were let off and our citizens congratulated each other that the news obtained from the Black Hills proved to be so highly encouraging to our people."¹²

Even though hundreds and perhaps thousands of miners were pouring into the Hills--many of them through Cheyenne--the region was still legally closed to white settlement. Federal authorities repeatedly insisted that the army would protect the Indian territory, and a few miners were removed from the Hills.¹³ In spite of this prohibition, the local press openly reported the departure of hundreds of would-be miners during May and June.¹⁴ This audacity was not as remarkable as it may seem. Like those Americans who flocked to California before it technically became part of the United States, Westerners generally felt it was only a matter of time before the Hills would be opened to them legally. The western army, which tended to sympathize with the settlers, lent support to this feeling. Brig. Gen. George Crook, who was sent to

¹² Leader, June 23, 1875. News, June 23, 1875.

¹³ L. G. Flannery (ed.), John Hunton's Diary, I (Lingle, Wyoming, 1956), 48.

¹⁴ News, June 18, 1875. Leader, June 30, 1875. Laramie Weekly Sentinel, May 24, 1875. John F. Finerty, War-Path and Bivouac or the Conquest of the Sioux (Norman, [1890] 1961), pp. 17-18.

the Hills in July to remove miners, gave them enough time to secure their claims in the eventuality that they be allowed to return. He notified his superiors that he considered it impossible to stem the invasion expected in the next spring.¹⁵

While openly encouraging immigration to the Hills, Cheyenne also exerted whatever pressure it could on Washington to have the Hills opened officially. Action of this kind usually came through the efforts of the territorial Delegate to Congress, W. R. Steele, a Cheyenne lawyer, and the territorial Governor, John Thayer, who also went to Washington in the spring of 1875. While Steele's success in the House of Representatives was negligible, he and Thayer talked with leading members of the administration including the Secretary of the Interior, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and even President Grant. They were assured that the government would open up the Hills if at all possible, but until negotiations were held with the Sioux resulting in cession the government would have to prohibit the entry of whites to the region.¹⁶ With negotiations in mind, federal officials sent

¹⁵U.S., Congress, House, "Annual Report of the Commander, Department of the Platte," Report of the Secretary of War, 44th Cong., 1st Sess., 1875, Exec. Doc. 1, pp. 69-70. Leader, July 26, 1875. William L. Kuykendall, Frontier Days, A True Narrative of Striking Events on the Western Frontier (Cheyenne, 1917), p. 143. Palais, Pacific Historical Review, XV, 64.

¹⁶U.S., Congressional Record, 43rd Cong., 2nd Sess.: December 8, 1874, p. 17; January 14, 1875, pp. 466-67. Leader,

for several of the Sioux chiefs, including Red Cloud and Spotted Tail, to come to Washington. As the Indians passed through Cheyenne, the News warned them that if they chose not to sell their land, a great crowd of miners would borrow it from them.¹⁷ But the Indians apparently had no intention of negotiating for the Hills and went to Washington merely to air their grievances. They later consented to negotiations that fall with a peace commission appointed by the federal government, but no agreement could be reached.¹⁸

The failure of negotiations did not deter continued immigration to the Hills. In November, 1875, the Leader commented that a party of twelve was "but one of an hundred or more similar parties," which recently left the city.¹⁹ The next spring, a resident of Cheyenne returning from the Hills counted 978 persons on the road between Cheyenne and Custer City, the first center of population growing up in the mining region. Way stations being built between Cheyenne and the Hills were crowded with these travellers every

March 17, 18, 23, 1875. Thayer to Mayor I. C. Whipple et al., March 20, 1875, published in Leader, March 24, 1875.

¹⁷ May 12, 1875.

¹⁸ House, "The Allison Commission Report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs," Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1875, pp. 686-702. George E. Hyde, Red Cloud's Folk, A History of the Oglala Sioux Indians (Norman, 1937), pp. 241-48. Olson, Red Cloud and the Sioux Problem, pp. 171-213. Leader, October 5, 1875.

¹⁹ November 20, December 27, 1875.

night.²⁰

During these months the army's position was changing from that of prohibiting entrance to the Hills to one of armed neutrality. The Leader rightly concluded that the army was, thus, endorsing the actions of the immigrants.²¹ By May of 1876 the army's position was reversed from its original stance; it began protecting travellers along the route from Cheyenne to the Hills. Because of continual pressure from Cheyenne and from Governor Thayer, army officials posted two troops of cavalry and three companies of infantry along the route.²² As the army stopped protecting the Hills from invasion, the Indians took up the task themselves. Attacks on wagon trains indicated their determination to keep intruders out. Traffic to the Hills slowed down. An employee at one of the way stations wrote in his diary in May: "There is very few teams going to the Hills now men are coming out very fast in large parties. Some

²⁰ Leader, March 12, 1876. Isaac Bard, Diary, February 5, 22, 1876 (Western Americana Collection, Yale University, New Haven). U.S., Congress, House, "Report of General W. T. Sherman," Report of the Secretary of War, 44th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1876, Exec. Doc. 1, p. 39.

²¹ Leader, November 17, 1875; January 20, 1876. For the army's justification for this unofficial move see: Hyde, Red Cloud's Folk . . ., pp. 249-93; and U. S., Congress, House, "Report of Lt.-Gen. P. H. Sheridan," Report of the Secretary of War, 45th Cong., 3rd Sess., 1878, Exec. Doc. 1, p. 35.

²² Agnes Wright Spring, The Cheyenne and Black Hills Stage and Express Routes (Glendale, Calif., 1948), pp. 147-48.

of these waggons show marks of the Indian Bulletts."²³ This vicious Indian opposition to encroachment on their reservation spurred on attempts by Westerners to open the area legally. In the House of Representatives, W. R. Steele, speaking in the interests of Cheyenne, unsuccessfully attempted to convince Congress to unilaterally open at least the northern part of Wyoming (which included the western fringe of the Black Hills) to white settlement.²⁴ By late 1876, however, the Indians recognized the futility of their attempts to stem the tide of invasion and they agreed to the surrender of the Black Hills.²⁵

The army and then the Indians had been overwhelmed by the flood of gold seekers. Cheyenne and the other towns circling the Hills contributed to the rush by their claims about the potential of the new region. Another aspect of the publicity emanating from these cities concerned the routes to be taken by those going to the Hills. Like the publicity campaigns of the Missouri River towns to win the traffic bound for the Colorado gold rush, these cities near the Black Hills all claimed to have the shortest and safest

²³ Bard, Diary, May 4, 1876.

²⁴ U.S., Congressional Record, 44th Cong., 1st Sess., 1876, pp. 478, 4471.

²⁵ U.S., Congress, House, "Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs," Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 45th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1877, Exec. Doc. 1, pp. 413-14, 719-28.

route, the most efficient transportation systems, and the finest outfitting houses.²⁶ Books, pamphlets, maps, and newspaper articles poured in profusion from each city.

The local press led Cheyenne's advertising campaign. Probably the most effective publicity came from the pages of the Leader, the News, and the Sun. For example, the Leader published 50,000 extra copies in April, 1875, which contained the "only correct map of the Black Hills."²⁷ The Leader's editor, Herman Glafcke, led other residents in sending a constant stream of letters to major newspapers such as the Omaha Daily Bee, extolling Cheyenne's virtues as an outfitting center.²⁸ Cheyenne also received a great deal of publicity from the pens of out-of-town correspondents. Among those who wrote major stories from Cheyenne were John Finerty of the Chicago Times, Thomas C. Macmillen of the

²⁶For a discussion of this publicity see Watson Parker, Gold in the Black Hills (Norman, 1966), pp. 38-52, and E. M. Eriksson, "Sioux City and the Black Hills Gold Rush, 1874-1877," Iowa Journal of History and Politics, XX (July, 1922), 319-331. The role of the Missouri River towns as publicity agents is described by A. Theodore Brown, Frontier Community: Kansas City to 1870 (Columbia, Mo., 1963), pp. 140-41; Walker D. Wyman, "Atchison, A Great Frontier Depot," Kansas Historical Quarterly, XI (1942), 297-300; Walker D. Wyman, "Council Bluffs and the Westward Movement," Iowa Journal of History and Politics, XLVII (1949), 113-14; and Norman Graebner, "Nebraska's Missouri River Frontier, 1854-1860," Nebraska History, XLII (December, 1961), 213-235.

²⁷Leader, April 17, 1875.

²⁸Omaha Daily Bee, April 3, 4, 1875; March 2, 1876. Cheyenne Daily Sun, April 25, 1876, hereafter in this chapter and all succeeding chapters cited as Sun.

Chicago InterOcean, R. B. Davenport of the New York Herald, and Standish Rood of the Salt Lake Tribune.²⁹

While the press promoted Cheyenne's interests in regard to the Black Hills, other segments of the community were less enthusiastic about the value of advertising. City Council declined to contribute to such a cause and local businessmen were slow to see the advantages of promoting Cheyenne's route to the Hills.³⁰ Businessmen, however, did decide to subsidize two books which were widely circulated. Cheyenne's route was described as the "safest, speediest, cheapest and best" in J. H. Triggs' History of Cheyenne and Northern Wyoming, Embracing the Gold Fields of the Black Hills, Powder River and Big Horn Countries.³¹ Robert Strahorn's, The Hand-Book of Wyoming and Guide to the Black Hills Regions for the Citizen, Emigrant and Tourist included the following chart of distances to Deadwood, the major center in the Hills. Only Fort Pierre, not an outfitting center, was listed as being closer to Deadwood than Cheyenne.³²

Cheyenne to Deadwood	250 miles	North Platte	480
Sidney	290	Fort Pierre	230
Kearney	358	Grand Island	450
Bismarck	325	Bozeman	490
Yankton	480		

²⁹Spring, The Cheyenne and Black Hills Stage . . ., p. 85

³⁰Cheyenne, City Council, Minutes of Meetings, April 7, 10, 1876 (Wyoming State Archives and Historical Department, Cheyenne). Sun, April 4, 6, 8, 1876. Leader, April 4, 1876.

³¹(Omaha, 1876), p. 11.

³²Pp. 241-42. The best description of Strahorn's work

The effectiveness of Cheyenne's promotional efforts is not easily measured, but there is no doubt that it made some impact. Cheyenne was certainly regarded as a good source of information about the Black Hills. An example of this is a comment by Isaac Bard, who was developing his own way station about thirty-five miles north of Cheyenne: "Joseph Small Passed by Going to Fort Laramie in quest of Black Hills News. I told him he had better go to Cheyenne for that."³³

Of Cheyenne's several rivals for becoming the major distributing center to the gold rush, the earliest and potentially the most dangerous was the little Nebraska village, Sidney. While Sidney was little more than a flag station along the Union Pacific, it had several geographical advantages over Cheyenne. Not only was Sidney nearer the eastern centers, but its route to the Hills was more direct than that of Cheyenne.³⁴ Cheyenne's one advantage was the bridge across the North Platte at Fort Laramie while the river had not been bridged north of Sidney. But this advantage was lost when an Omaha businessman built a toll bridge across the river north of Sidney in the summer of 1876 and part of Cheyenne's traffic was immediately diverted through Sidney.³⁵

as a publicist is in Gene Gressley, Bankers and Cattlemen (New York, 1966), pp. 44-50.

³³ Bard, Diary, December 18, 1876.

³⁴ House, "Annual Report of the Commander . . . Platte," Report of the Secretary of War, 1874, p. 34.

³⁵ Harold E. Briggs, "Early Freight and Stage Lines in

The basic strength of Cheyenne, however, was its established business community which was in a better position to provide supplies to those en route to the Hills than were Sidney's relatively few businessmen.³⁶

This struggle for supremacy, typical of all urban rivalry, resulted in bitter attempts to destroy a rival's reputation. According to reports reaching Cheyenne, Union Pacific passengers passing through Sidney were told that hundreds of cases of smallpox existed in Cheyenne, or were warned that Cheyenne was in danger of falling to the blood-thirsty savages who surrounded it. Cheyenne's press retaliated by ridiculing Sidney's pretensions and published dozens of stories about Indian atrocities, stage coach accidents, and robberies along the Sidney route.³⁷ The aggressive rivalry was also evident in Cheyenne's relationship with two other competitors, Sioux City and Yankton. Charley Collins, editor of the Sioux City Times, was accused by the Leader of coming to Cheyenne and bribing travellers returning from

Dakota," North Dakota Historical Quarterly, III (1928-1929), 253-54. Norbert R. Mahnken, "The Sidney-Black Hills Trail," Nebraska History, XXX (September, 1949), 210-13.

³⁶ Omaha Daily Bee, April 8, 1876.

³⁷ Leader, April 16, 19, 1875. News, April 30, 1875. Sun, May 2, 1876; January 25, February 20, March 21, 1877. For an excellent discussion of urban rivalry among frontier cities in the Ohio Valley, see Richard Wade, The Urban Frontier; Pioneer Life in Early Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Lexington, Louisville, and St. Louis (Chicago, [1959] 1964), pp. 322-36.

the Hills to not publicly state that Cheyenne's route was superior. The Leader also charged that emissaries of Sioux City and Yankton who had gone East were misrepresenting Cheyenne and its route.³⁸

Of all the cities with the potential of becoming outfitting centers for the gold rush, Laramie appears to have been one of the slowest to see its opportunities. Little interest was shown in the Black Hills until early 1876 when envy of Cheyenne's identification with the gold rush prompted J. H. Hayford of the Laramie Sentinel to claim that Laramie was actually closer to the Hills than Cheyenne and that Laramie had as many outfitting facilities as Cheyenne. Advertisements to this effect were sent to various western papers such as the Salt Lake Tribune.³⁹ But the extent to which these claims were simply jealousy of Cheyenne's activity was evident when small ore deposits were discovered near Laramie. Hayford trumpeted the find and wrote in large letters, obviously for Cheyenne's benefit, "TAKE YOUR BLACK HILLS AND STICK THEM."⁴⁰ Thereafter he did his best to discount reports of gold strikes in the Hills.

Most of these stories come from or through Cheyenne. That town expects to and doubtless will reap a harvest from the excitement, whether there are paying mines

³⁸ Leader, April 21, 29, 1875; March 19, 1876.

³⁹ Laramie Weekly Sentinel, January 3, 1876. Leader, March 10, 1876.

⁴⁰ Laramie Weekly Sentinel, January 10, 17, 1876.

there or not, and is therefore interested in getting and circulating the biggest stories possible.⁴¹

Circulating the biggest stories possible was exactly what Cheyenne had in mind. In the competition for regional hegemony, publicity was an important weapon.

In addition to publicizing the gold field, the towns surrounding the Hills contributed to the opening and development of the new region in several other ways. The vast movement of population to the gold fields could not be handled by the existing transportation facilities, which necessitated the establishment of a host of new stage and freight lines. Cheyenne was able to take advantage of its position to receive goods on the Union Pacific and transport them overland to the Black Hills. Warehouses, increased banking facilities, and a larger labor force were some of the results of the need to transfer goods from railroad to overland transportation. For a city which had largely thought in terms of railroads since its birth, the new emphasis on more primitive forms--the freight wagon and the stage coach--was a dramatic reversal of the prevalent western trend. The result was the return of a frontier atmosphere symbolized by the colorful bullwhackers and muleskinners who reappeared in large numbers on the city's streets. In another sense, however, this use of overland transportation was simply an accentuation of a traditional function, the provisioning of

⁴¹Laramie Weekly Sentinel, January 24, 1876.

the northern army posts, and especially of the Indian agencies, Red Cloud and Spotted Tail, immediately south of the Black Hills. This army and Indian trade, while profitable, had not contributed substantially to building up the city. This trade, however, meant that some residents of Cheyenne were acquainted with the region near the Black Hills and, also, that experienced freighters and freighting equipment were available to take quick advantage of the rush to the Hills.

The connection between Cheyenne and the Indian agencies, thus, enabled Cheyenne to get the jump on other cities in providing transportation to the Hills. During 1875 and early 1876, Cheyenne virtually had the field to itself although only limited service was possible. The Cheyenne and Spotted Tail Express and Stage Company began a semi-weekly stage service to the Indian agencies in March, 1875. This took prospective miners only about one-half to two-thirds of the way to the Black Hills, yet the demand was greater than the original line was able to handle, and other local lines were quickly organized to transport travellers to the agencies.⁴² The Omaha Daily Bee, commenting on this activity in Cheyenne, offered the following diagnosis:

The Black Hills fever is dangerously contagious, and many are taking it badly, the main symptoms being a speculation in horses and wagons, and the

⁴² Spring, The Cheyenne and Black Hills Stage . . ., p. 79.

organization of numerous incipient transportation companies.⁴³

The obvious demand for transportation directly to the Black Hills interested several businessmen. The first entrepreneur to plan a major system from Cheyenne to the Hills was George W. Homan, the proprietor of an omnibus line in Omaha. In a letter to Cheyenne's businessmen in April, 1875, Homan offered to run a daily or even twice-daily stage from Cheyenne to the Hills if Cheyenne's businessmen would promise to subsidize him as the residents of Sidney had already promised to do.⁴⁴ But a meeting between Homan and local businessmen was reportedly "not a very enthusiastic affair."⁴⁵ Local residents seemed to feel that the city should subsidize its own citizens rather than "giving aid to Omaha men in order that they may the more effectually kill off Cheyenne."⁴⁶ Undaunted, Homan approached Laramie County's Commissioners and was able to convince them to subsidize him to the extent of \$5,000.⁴⁷ The purchase of ten stage coaches and the building of way stations along the

⁴³ March 26, 1875.

⁴⁴ Letter quoted by Spring, The Cheyenne and Black Hills Stage . . ., p. 60.

⁴⁵ Leader, April 30, 1875.

⁴⁶ News, April 19, 30, 1875.

⁴⁷ Laramie County, Commissioners, Minutes of Meetings, May 7, June 2, 1875 (Wyoming State Archives and Historical Department, Cheyenne).

routes prompted the Leader to proclaim that Homan's line would be "worth several rolling mills to Cheyenne."⁴⁸ But Homan refused to begin operations until the Hills had been formally relinquished by the Indians! This hesitancy eventually cost him the initiative, for while he wavered more daring entrepreneurs took action.

The earliest direct transportation link between Cheyenne and the Black Hills was provided by Frank Yates and W. H. Brown, two residents of the Red Cloud agency. They put the Cheyenne and Black Hills Stage, Mail and Express Line into operation on a semi-weekly basis in January, 1876. Several weeks later the line was purchased by Gilmer, Salisbury and Patrick, a major western transportation company. Capitalized at \$100,000, the company immediately made the line a daily, purchasing thirty Concord stages and the required horses. The local manager, Luke Voorhees, assured residents that the line would run in such a manner that "will remind old-timers of the days of Ben Holladay's Overland Stage line."⁴⁹ The large scale operation went into service on April 3, 1876, as three Concord coaches carrying

⁴⁸ May 11, 1875.

⁴⁹ Leader, February 13, 1876. Sun, March 8, 1876. Omaha Daily Bee, March 6, 1876. Bard, Diary, January 27, 1876. Spring, The Cheyenne and Black Hills Stage . . ., p. 81. Luke Voorhees, Personal Recollections of Pioneer Life (Philadelphia, 1927), pp. 23-24. Oscar O. Winther, The Transportation Frontier: Trans-Mississippi West, 1865-1890 (New York, 1964), p. 57.

about twenty passengers each left from in front of the new Inter-Ocean Hotel. According to the Sun, the "fine, large horses dashed out of the city in slashing style," and a large crowd gave the passengers a rousing send-off.⁵⁰ For a fare of \$20 a first class passenger could now reach Custer City in three days. The route taken was directly to the Black Hills centers instead of the indirect route via the Indian agencies. The time required for the trip was later cut to two days as the roads were improved. Meals were available at scheduled stops at about ten stations along the route. Second and third class passengers, for fares of \$15 and \$10, could ride wagons which carried freight. Freight was carried at rates of 3 1/2¢ to 6¢ per pound.⁵¹

Direct transportation connections were maintained between Cheyenne and the Black Hills communities only with great difficulty. The trails used by the coaches and wagons were rough and unimproved. During early 1876 the Sioux were far from ready to relinquish the Hills even though the army had withdrawn its protection of the reservation. Indian depredations virtually brought traffic to a halt by mid-summer in spite of the stage company's successful appeal

⁵⁰ April 4, 1876.

⁵¹ Spring, The Cheyenne and Black Hills Stage . . ., pp. 93-95, 134. Omaha Daily Bee, April 10, 1876. Sun, March 14, 1876.

to Governor Thayer for military protection. The massacre of Custer and his men at the Battle of the Little Big Horn in late June dramatically changed the situation. With the army bent on revenge, the Indians retreated and travel to the Hills was resumed.⁵² During the next two years, road agents presented another threat to through traffic especially because of the treasure being shipped to Cheyenne and Sidney. The press openly reported the departure of treasure-laden coaches, giving bandits every opportunity of interception. Robberies were almost daily events. The murder of a driver, Johnny Slaughter, son of the city marshal, brought the situation home to Cheyenne's residents. City, county, and territorial officials combined in a major offensive against the bandits in 1878 in an effort to maintain Cheyenne's link with the gold camps.⁵³

During 1876 and 1877 the transportation of passengers and freight to the Black Hills was an essential part of Cheyenne's economy. The Cheyenne and Black Hills Stage and Express Company had about \$200,000 invested in coaches, horses, and equipment, and employed eighty men. In the first six months of 1877, this line carried 3,128 passengers to the Hills; a daily average of ten first class and twenty second

⁵² Spring, The Cheyenne and Black Hills Stage . . ., pp. 136-50. Sun, January 24, 1877.

⁵³ For a detailed account of the reign of terror mounted by the bandits, see Spring, The Cheyenne and Black Hills Stage . . ., pp. 199-290.

class passengers was considered normal during the summer and fall. Among the larger freighting outfits was the Cheyenne and Black Hills Forwarding Company, owned by Cuthbertson and Young, which carried 3,000,000 pounds of freight to Deadwood in 1877. This company specialized in freighting heavy mining equipment, such as an eighteen-stamp mill and the hoisting equipment for the Homestake mine. A number of smaller outfits carried miners' supplies and a variety of goods for stores in the gold camps. Among Cheyenne's residents organizing these smaller lines was William Kuykendall, who occasionally made the Black Hills his home during these years.⁵⁴ Transportation companies from Cheyenne probably carried about one-quarter of all passengers and freight transported to the Black Hills during 1876 and 1877. From 1878, however, competitors from the East and especially from the Missouri River towns such as Bismarck carried the bulk of goods and passengers to the Hills.⁵⁵ Traffic from Cheyenne decreased

⁵⁴Strahorn, The Hand-Book of Wyoming . . ., p. 143. Spring, The Cheyenne and Black Hills Stage . . ., pp. 168-69. Frank Leslie's Illustrated (New York), October 6, 1877. Annie D. Tallent, The Black Hills; or, The Last Hunting Ground of the Dakotahs (St. Louis, 1899), pp. 181-82. Sun, March 7, 1878.

⁵⁵Briggs, North Dakota Historical Quarterly, III, 243-47, 256-57. Cheyenne's relative role in providing transportation to the Hills has been underestimated in general works such as Harold Briggs, Frontiers of the Northwest, A History of the Upper Missouri Valley (New York, 1940), p. 63; and Winther, The Transportation Frontier . . ., pp. 51-58; and greatly exaggerated in Spring, The Cheyenne and Black Hills Stage . . .

considerably, partly as a consequence of the continuous activity of the road agents along Cheyenne's route.

Mail service from Cheyenne to the Black Hills region was closely associated with transportation. No federal mail route could be established while the Hills area was Indian territory but mail was unofficially carried by freighters and stage coach drivers. From Sidney, mail was sent by a private pony express by the summer of 1876. When federal mail service was inaugurated in 1877, the Cheyenne and Black Hills Stage Company received the contract, apparently because of successful lobbying by leading members of Cheyenne's business community. F. E. Warren, M. E. Post, and Herman Glafcke boarded a train carrying members of the United States Postal Commission, and before the train had reached Laramie, they had convinced the federal authorities that the mail should go through Cheyenne.⁵⁶ Of equal importance to a close contact between Cheyenne and the gold camps was the establishment of telegraphic connections between Cheyenne and Deadwood in December, 1876. The Cheyenne and Black Hills Telegraph Company was operated by a local businessman, W. H. Hibbard, who sold stock to businessmen in Cheyenne, Deadwood, and Custer City.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ Leader, November 14, 1876. Sun, November 14, 1876. Spring, The Cheyenne and Black Hills Stage . . ., pp. 197, 298-300. In 1879 the mail route was changed to Sidney.

⁵⁷ Strahorn, The Hand-Book of Wyoming . . ., p. 144. Spring, The Cheyenne and Black Hills Stage . . ., pp. 158-59.

As an important departure point for the Hills, Cheyenne could be expected to have adequate public accommodations. The hotels were quickly rebuilt and improved. The Leader assured "the world at large that our hotel accommodations are equal, if not superior, to those of any city in this part of the Great West."⁵⁸ The Leader ranked the seven biggest hotels in three classes: heading the list were the new Inter-Ocean and the Railroad House; listed as first class houses were Dyer's Hotel, Leighton's Metropolitan, and Kabe's Delmonico of Wyoming; the Eagle House and the Western were ranked as good. The hotels were again crowded as in the boom days of 1867 to 1868. The Leader reported in February, 1876, for example, that thirty-one customers had checked into the Inter-Ocean and thirty-four at the Railroad House between Sunday noon and Monday morning.⁵⁹ Competition between the hotels was intense, illustrating the energetic activity of the city generally. The Leader described the rivalry for customers during the thrice-daily train arrivals:

The custom of hotel proprietors, to employ men to toot their horns at the railroad depots, and steamboat landings is universal. In few places, however, does this proverbially modest class have the opportunity to display their elocutionary powers, as at the depot in Cheyenne. By ten-pound Websterian words, Joe leads his crowd to the Railroad House; the persuasive eloquence of a Calhoun . . . draws to Ford's Inter-Ocean; the

⁵⁸ January 27, 1876.

⁵⁹ Leader, February 15, 1876. Strahorn, The Handbook of Wyoming . . . , p. 144.

straight forward story told by Dyer's Hotel representative, is not in vain; and the energetic distribution of the Eagle Hotel cards has its effect.⁶⁰

Of the hotels in operation during this period, the Inter-Ocean was the largest and most popular. The three-storey structure was built at a cost of \$25,000 during the building boom in 1875 by B. L. Ford, whose earlier plans for a hotel in the city had fallen through. Ford received some financial assistance from the city's business community which recognized the need for a first-rate hotel in the city.⁶¹ The hotel's opening was an impressive affair, symbolizing the frontier city's attempts to shake off the doldrums of depression.⁶² The Inter-Ocean prospered during the height of the gold rush activity,⁶³ but by 1878, business fell off drastically. Ford was forced to relinquish control to the Denver contractor who built the hotel. A succession of managers following Ford also failed to make the Inter-Ocean a paying proposition; the frontier city no longer could provide enough business to support a large hotel properly.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ November 9, 1875.

⁶¹ F. E. Warren to B. L. Ford, February 4, 5, 10, 1875, Converse and Warren Letters, Warren Collection (Western History Research Center, University of Wyoming, Laramie). News, February 19, 1875. Leader, February 16, 1875. Omaha Daily Bee, March 26, 1875.

⁶² Judging by the menu in L. R. Bresnahan Papers (in the possession of Miss Winifred Bresnahan, Cheyenne).

⁶³ James H. Cook, Fifty Years on the Old Frontier (Norman, [1923] 1957), pp. 109-121.

⁶⁴ F. E. Warren to B. L. Ford, September 16, 21,

The rush to the Hills in 1875 gave a welcome, although only temporary, shot in the arm to the city's economy. The years between 1868 and 1874 had been lean although local trade had slowly developed, particularly as ranchers moved into the region between the city and the North Platte River. The gold rush provided hundreds of new customers who bought equipment and provisions on their way through the city to the Hills. Merchants quickly increased their stock of boots and woolens, picks and shovels, groceries, and other supplies. The city was capable of serving as an outfitting center to a substantial portion of the prospective residents of the Black Hills. The business community included two hardware stores, three wholesale grocers and a large number of retail grocers, three bakeries, two drug stores, three dry goods shops, three clothing stores, three liquor and cigar stores, and three blacksmith and wagon shops.⁶⁵ Trade was brisk as each of the three daily Union Pacific trains brought ten to twenty-five immigrants bound for the Hills. In early 1876 a Sun reporter who visited some of the leading firms was told that Draper and Hammond usually sold mining tools to twenty-five men on a good day; W. L. Fogelsong had just provisioned twenty-one men with groceries and supplies; E. Nagel had

1878, Converse and Warren Letters. Sun, May 15, 21, December 2, 1878; January 31, 1879; September 22, 1880, May 20, November 5, 30, 1881; May 5, 1882.

⁶⁵Leader, February 5, 9, March 27, 1875. Spring, The Cheyenne and Black Hills Stage . . ., p. 50.

"grub-staked" thirty-five miners the previous day.⁶⁶

Some miners, usually the veterans of previous gold rushes, left for the Hills with ample provisions and adequate equipment. But gold rushes usually attracted many recruits suffering from the effects of periodic economic depressions. The panic of 1873 and the national depression which followed stimulated thousands to try their luck in the latest gold rush. Thus, the majority of those who passed through Cheyenne on their way to the Hills, particularly those from the East with no previous mining experience, took dangerously few supplies with them. These spent, on a rough estimate, about \$15 each for food (usually cheese, crackers, and pickles) and from \$5 to \$7 on mining equipment such as picks, shovels, and pans.⁶⁷ The large number of immigrants, however, compensated for the relatively small individual purchases. According to one publicist, J. H. Triggs, the sales of the thirty largest business houses for one twelve-month period (the last half of 1875 and the first half of 1876) amounted to \$2,300,000; this would be an average of \$77,000 per merchant.⁶⁸

In addition to outfitting immigrants passing through

⁶⁶Sun, March 21, 23, 1876. Leader, January 20, 1876.

⁶⁷Sun, March 16, 23, 1876. Paul, Mining Frontiers of . . ., pp. 41-42.

⁶⁸Triggs, History of Cheyenne . . ., p. 30. Strahorn, The Hand-Book of Wyoming . . ., p. 145.

Cheyenne, local businessmen sent goods directly to the Hills. Some firms, such as Cuthbertson and Young, set up branches in the gold camps. One of the city's leading banks, Stebbins and Post, set up a branch in Deadwood and through this branch handled most of the gold which came out of the Hills by way of Cheyenne. Many local merchants invested heavily in mining property through companies like the Black Hills Mining Company which was primarily owned by Cheyenne businessmen. According to one of the directors of the company, M. E. Post, this company pioneered in the use of heavy quartz mills in the Black Hills and was the first to ship gold bullion out of the region.⁶⁹

Many of Cheyenne's residents continued the restless pursuit of the frontier by moving completely to the Hills. One who returned reported that he "met so many Cheyenne men at Custer, Deadwood, Gayville and in the mines, that it seemed quite home like."⁷⁰ This statement was supported by John Finerty, a reporter for the Chicago Times, who wrote: "While walking down the main street of Deadwood I encountered half the population that I met in Cheyenne last May."⁷¹

⁶⁹"Biographical Sketch of Morton E. Post," Cheyenne, c. 1885 (Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley). W. L. Kuykendall to the Editor, Sun, April 18, 1876. News, July 1, 1875. Leader, July 12, December 13, 1875; April 8, 1876. Sun, March 8, 1876; February 13, 16, March 15, 1877. Tallent, The Black Hills . . ., pp. 181-182, 187-188.

⁷⁰Sun, April 29, 1877.

⁷¹Quoted by Spring, The Cheyenne and Black Hills Stage . . ., p. 168.

Among those lured by the gold rush were some of the major founders of Cheyenne: J. R. Whitehead and W. L. Kuykendall both moved to the Hills and became involved in various mining ventures; Judge Andrew McLaughlin became a leading member of the new region's legal fraternity; M. V. Boughton, only recently Cheyenne's mayor, went into the lumbering and mining business in Central City; Dr. J. J. Clark, a dentist, became the owner of several paying mining claims; Dr. L. L. Bedell practised medicine in Custer City. Many others abandoned their professions--law, medicine, and even the theater--to go into mining and real estate in the Hills.⁷² Most of these failed to find wealth in the Black Hills. Some, like Whitehead and Kuykendall, eventually returned to Cheyenne.

The city's merchants undoubtedly prospered during the hectic days of 1875 and 1876, not only from the immigrants. Many permanent residents now had more money to spend on improving their way of life. Converse and Warren, for example, sent a frantic order for a carload of furniture to an eastern manufacturer in 1875 because "we are entirely out of some goods."⁷³ A renewed spirit of optimism prevailed in the business community. A firm of gunsmiths, the Freund Brothers, which had left the city for Denver during the

⁷² Sun, March 8, 1876; June 7, October 3, 1877; March 23, 1878. Omaha Daily Bee, February 26, 1876.

⁷³ Converse and Warren to Mishawaka Furniture Company, May 19, 1875, Converse and Warren Letters.

depression of the early seventies, now returned to Cheyenne. This firm was winning a national reputation for the superior quality of their remodelled rifles.⁷⁴ The number and quality of buildings constructed in the little frontier city reflected the generally favorable economic climate. According to the territorial surveyor-general, the following buildings were erected in the city during 1875: two three-storey brick hotels, three frame hotels, ten brick stores, one brick city hall, seventeen brick homes, and ninety-two frame homes.⁷⁵

Unfortunately for the commercial interests of the city, however, the business boom was as short-lived as it was dramatic. During 1877 trade declined sharply from the peak year of 1876. A further decline came in 1878. According to Francis E. Warren, total trade in the city in 1878 was only two-thirds to three-quarters of what it had been in 1877.⁷⁶ The decreased amount of commerce was quickly reflected in the value of real estate. Warren gloomily wrote in 1878 that "there is very

⁷⁴Charles E. Hanson, Jr., The Plains Rifle (Harrisburg, 1954), pp. 105-107. Leader, June 28, 1875. For an example of the reputation of the Freund rifles, see the letters of Theodore Roosevelt to Frank W. Freund, June 2, 8, 1892; December 26, 1902, Frank W. Freund Collection (Wyoming State Archives and Historical Department, Cheyenne).

⁷⁵House, "Annual Report of the Surveyor-General, Wyoming Territory," Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1875, p. 363. U.S., Congress, House, "Annual Report of the Surveyor-General, Wyoming Territory," Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 44th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1876, Exec. Doc. 1, p. 220.

⁷⁶Warren to B. L. Ford, December 21, 1878, Warren Letters, Warren Collection.

little chance of selling anything in Cheyenne now in way of Real estate."⁷⁷

The gold rush had stimulated the development of over-land transportation from Cheyenne to the Black Hills. The city, however, never gave up the idea of building a railroad to the north. A possible solution seemed to appear in 1877 in the form of the Colorado Central. This subsidiary of the Union Pacific offered to make Cheyenne its northern terminus if a subsidy in the form of a bond issue were granted. This road would offer an alternate route to the Colorado mining communities. But of more interest to city officials and businessmen who signed an agreement with the company was the suggestion that this railroad company might be persuaded to continue its line north to the Hills. The road, however, was not built directly to the city, but joined the Union Pacific about five miles to the west. Some residents believed that this nullified any agreement the city had made with the company, but Union Pacific officials made it clear to the city that they did not consider Cheyenne relieved of its obligations. The territorial legislature agreed, authorizing Lar- amie County to issue \$150,000 in bonds to the railroad company if county residents voted approval. Although the Sun believed that the bill in the legislature "was virtually dictated" by the Union Pacific and was a "gross imposition

⁷⁷Warren to L. R. Graves, November 14, 1878, Warren Letters.

on our people," county residents (the majority of them living in the city) voted overwhelmingly to grant the subsidy.⁷⁸

One of the main reasons why Cheyenne's residents agreed to subsidize the Colorado Central was the continuing expectation that the Union Pacific would build a railroad north to the Black Hills. Discussions about such a road took place during the summer of 1877 between Jay Gould, who now controlled the Union Pacific, and a citizens' committee. This committee, made up of twelve leading members of the business community, was given the authority to make agreements on behalf of the city in a manner which was now traditional in Cheyenne. They had been chosen at a public meeting in the Court House and would present any agreement for ratification to another public meeting. But while an agreement with Gould concerning subsidies and other arrangements was reached and publicly accepted, the Union Pacific later decided not to build a northern line. By 1878 trade to the Hills was going by way of Bismarck and company officials believed it would be difficult to divert this traffic.⁷⁹

⁷⁸ Sun, January 4, 1878; also December 2, 1877; January 3, 4, 9, 15, 26, 30, June 19, 1878. News, January 14, 1875. Leader, January 12, 13, 1875. Ralph N. Traxler, "Some Phases of the History of the Colorado Central Railroad, 1865-1885" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Colorado, 1947), p. 82. Flannery, John Hunton's Diary, III, 17. Wyoming Territory, Session Laws of the Fifth Legislative Assembly, 1877 (Cheyenne, 1878), pp. 14-19. County Commissioners, Minutes, April 15, 1878.

⁷⁹ J. A. Evans to G. M. Dodge, November 21, 1877, Grenvill M. Dodge Papers (Iowa State Department of History

If the Union Pacific refused to build a railroad to the north, the city seemed determined to do so itself. Spurring businessmen on was the belief that the Black Hills trade might be re-directed through Cheyenne as in 1875 and 1876. A new company, The Cheyenne and Black Hills Railroad Company, was formed, dominated by local residents including Carey, Warren, Converse, and Swan. They hoped to build a narrow gauge road, partly with the aid of a subsidy from the county.⁸⁰

The value of such a road to the city seems not to have been questioned until one of Cheyenne's traditional critics, J. H. Hayford of the Laramie Sentinel, raised the issue. Hayford had no doubt that Cheyenne would be able to build the road: "Knowing as well as we do the enterprise and energy of her citizens we scarcely regard anything as impossible to them." But, warned Hayford, Cheyenne and the Territory as a whole stood to gain little from this tremendous sacrifice by Cheyenne's citizens. For one thing, a railroad would wipe out overnight the overland travel which had stimulated Cheyenne's economy for the past few years. Cheyenne would no longer be a major transfer point from one kind of transportation to another; trains would "simply whistle as they passed by her."

and Archives, Des Moines), box 336. Sun, June 2, 14, 26, 28, 1877; January 30, 1879. Members of the local committee were J. M. Carey, F. E. Warren, A. H. Swan, A. Nagle, A. R. Converse, J. H. Nichols, I. C. Whipple, Luke Murrin, W. R. Steele, E. A. Slack, J. Joslin, and Herman Glafcke.

⁸⁰Sun, January 30, February 11, 15, 19, 25, 1879.

And even more important, the new railroad would "be entirely at the mercy of the Union Pacific, which as a matter of course, will either freeze and starve it out or gobble it up."⁸¹ Some of those involved in the venture saw the merit of Hayford's objections. Carey, who had originally been involved in the scheme, admitted that he was "afraid that those who go into it will be swallowed up by Gould."⁸² The venture slowly died. When a northern railroad was finally built in 1887 after innumerable delays (the Cheyenne and Northern), it was with the cooperation of the Union Pacific.⁸³

Cheyenne had good reason to fear the machinations of Gould and of the Union Pacific which he controlled after 1874. The city was caught in the middle of a power struggle between Gould and the Kansas Pacific which culminated in the consolidation of the two systems in 1879. During the contest freight rates fluctuated wildly as they had previously in the early 1870's. In March, 1877, local rates were suddenly increased by 400% in an attempt to stop shipments from the Kansas Pacific via the Denver Pacific to points west of Cheyenne. No consideration was given to shipments originating in Cheyenne;

⁸¹Laramie Weekly Sentinel, February 21, 1879.

⁸²Carey to Judge W. A. Carter, March 2, 1879, Carey Collection (Western History Research Center, University of Wyoming, Laramie).

⁸³Sun, February 28, March 12, 24, April 5, 1879; February 17, 1882. Wyoming Territory, Session Laws of the Sixth Legislative Assembly, 1879 (Cheyenne, 1880), pp. 24-28. T. A. Larson, History of Wyoming (Lincoln, 1966), p. 159.

charges for a freight car from Cheyenne to Laramie were \$110.⁸⁴ Thus, merchants in communities west of Cheyenne could have goods shipped as cheaply from Omaha as from Cheyenne warehouses. Cheyenne's wholesale business in the western part of the Territory was virtually wiped out. The company's attempt to cut out competition from the Kansas Pacific to points west of Cheyenne is understandable, but differing rates charged along the line of the Union Pacific itself amounted to senseless discrimination. In 1878, for example, freight rates from Council Bluffs to Cheyenne were higher than from Council Bluffs to Laramie, even though Laramie was further down the road. First class freight rates were \$2.40 per one hundred pounds to Cheyenne but only \$2.13 to Laramie. Cheyenne's businessmen, led by Warren, complained bitterly to company officials about these rates, charging that,

Laramie can extend its lines of trade almost around us in a retail way in all classes of goods.

The policy of the road in local traffic matters has been such that I have long since had to part with the extensive jobbing trade in West end of Terr. that I engaged in and previous to '70, and now when I am shut out of Colorado and Western Wyoming in a wholesale way it is somewhat humiliating that we should also have to surrender our retail trade to our more fortunate neighbors further west.⁸⁵

⁸⁴U.S., Congress, Senate, Reports of the Government Directors of the Union Pacific Railroad Company, 1864-1886, 49th Cong., 1st Sess., 1886, Exec. Doc. 69, pp. 142-45. Julius Grodinsky, Jay Gould, His Business Career, 1867-1896 (Philadelphia, 1957), pp. 131-40. Robert Riegel, The Story of the Western Railroads (Lincoln [1926] 1963), pp. 162-64. Laramie Weekly Sentinel, March 26, 1877. Sun, February 24, 1879.

⁸⁵Warren to J. T. Clark, Assistant Superintendent, Union Pacific, December 31, 1879, Warren Letters.

Cheyenne's merchants were forced to look for alternate means of shipping goods and occasionally the Union Pacific lowered its rates from Omaha to Cheyenne in order to compete. But, in general, rates over the Union Pacific were relatively higher than those on other railroads, and Cheyenne's residents believed they were the victims of discrimination. For example, the Sun reported receiving a shipment of paper from Chicago for which the Union Pacific charged four and one-half times as much as the railroads east of Omaha. Charges from Chicago to Omaha were \$5 while the Union Pacific charged \$21.88 for approximately the same distance. It was this kind of rate structure, the Sun believed, that resulted in the diversion of the Black Hills trade to the Missouri River towns.⁸⁶

In addition to the Union Pacific's apparent disregard for local interests, several other factors were involved in this rate structure. The volume of traffic from Omaha to Cheyenne was lower than that between Chicago and Omaha yet costs to the railroad were similar. But more important was the fact that the Union Pacific was forced to compete with several other railroads for Omaha's trade while it had virtually no competition at Cheyenne. The results of this situation became particularly apparent with Gould's control of both feasible routes. With the end of

⁸⁶Sun, December 13, 1878; July 3, 1879. Warren to Mishawaka Furniture Company, May 19, 1875, Converse and Warren Letters.

competition, the general rates increased by 40%. Cheyenne's businessmen were driven to using even more indirect routes to escape the new monopoly. A Kansas City manufacturer was reported to have sent a large shipment to a Cheyenne merchant via the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe to Pueblo, Colorado, then over the Denver and Rio Grande to Denver, thus necessitating the use of a Gould road only from Denver to Cheyenne.⁸⁷

The railroad company's policies in the matter of freight rates inhibited the city's commercial activity. Yet the railroad, with its direct connections to eastern centers, was vital to the existence of the city. The company's intransigence might have been responsible for the loss of the Black Hills trade, as some residents charged, but the railroad was absolutely essential to the other major industry which promised urban growth, the cattle industry. In the mad rush to the Black Hills, the expansion of the cattle industry went almost unnoticed; publicists turned to stock-raising only when the gold rush excitement obviously was over. By 1877, Robert Strahorn predicted that Wyoming's future lay not with mining but with the wealth of farming and grazing lands to the north. He recommended that immigrants not go to the Black Hills, which had become overcrowded, but suggested they go to the agricultural lands of

⁸⁷ Kansas City Mail, reprinted in Sun, February 1, 1879.

the Big Horn and Wind River ranges which he described in a chapter entitled "Choice Nooks for the Farmer and Stockman."⁸⁸

The northern part of the Territory, of course, had been considered a potential agricultural hinterland since the abortive Big Horn expedition in 1870. Interest was maintained by the descriptions of army officers and of clandestine prospectors. In 1874, William F. Cody, later better known as Buffalo Bill, arrived in Cheyenne with glowing accounts of the magnificent grazing and agricultural country he saw while serving as a scout in the Big Horn and Powder River regions. This area was legally opened to white settlement by the same congressional act which officially opened the Black Hills to the miners in 1877. The abrogation of the notorious Sixteenth Article of the Sioux treaty of 1868 meant that Wyoming north of the North Platte River was now open to settlement.

A new boom was soon in progress. In dramatic fashion thousands of cattle were driven across the North Platte to the virgin pastures of the north.⁸⁹ During 1878 the industry was characterized as being "merely in its swaddling clothes--only first born--yet it is an infant of prodigious

⁸⁸Strahorn, The Hand-Book of Wyoming . . ., pp. 197-211, 228.

⁸⁹Sun, June 14, 1877. U.S., Congress, House, "Annual Report of the Surveyor-General, Wyoming Territory," Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 45th Cong., 3rd Sess., 1878, Exec. Doc. 1, p. 267.

size and great promise."⁹⁰

The rapid expansion was accompanied by warning signs. Joseph M. Carey, one of the first of Cheyenne's residents to take advantage of the lush grazing lands beyond the North Platte, complained by 1879 that "there is too much stock for the country."⁹¹ C. H. Mayo, a young remittance man interested in the Powder River area, decided not to invest when he learned that 100,000 head of cattle were expected to be driven into the area in 1880. He explained his decision to his father: "The truth is too many men are going into the business and it seems there is as much of a craze over stockraising as mining."⁹²

Such warnings, however, hardly clouded the bright future in 1880. The new boom gave every indication of providing the long-sought-for economic stability, especially because of the city's special status within the industry. This is not to say that Cheyenne was becoming a cow town in the Kansas tradition. Even though the city was the most important shipping point in Wyoming in 1875 (553 out of 897 cars), 1876 (465 of 792), and 1877 (532 of 1,192),⁹³ this

⁹⁰ Sun, November 26, 1878.

⁹¹ Carey to W. A. Carter, March 2, 1879, Carey Collection.

⁹² Mayo to his father, May 5, 18, 1880, Clarence H. Mayo Collection (Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California).

⁹³ Compiled from the reports of the territorial surveyors general in U.S., Congress, House, Reports of the Secretary

factor was of minor significance. Unlike the Texas and Kansas cattlemen who sold their cattle to buyers at the shipping point, Wyoming's cattlemen shipped their stock directly to Chicago for sale. The elaborate banking and other financial facilities required by the Kansas towns were not necessary to Cheyenne as a shipping point.⁹⁴ Nor could Cheyenne by any stretch of the imagination be considered a rendez-vous, or center for drivers and stockherders--the colorful cowboys of western legend. Only twenty-five listed stockherding as their occupation in the 1880 census. Most of these were teenagers, members of city families, who found temporary employment with stockraisers in the vicinity of the city.

The real significance of the cattle industry for Cheyenne's economy was the fact that the owners of the herds, even of herds in northern Wyoming, made the city their home. By 1880 fifty-one residents listed their occupation as stockgrower.⁹⁵ Among the biggest operators was Alex Swan who, together with his brothers, owned over 45,000 head of cattle in eastern

of the Interior, 1875-1878, Exec. Docs.

⁹⁴

For an analysis of the Kansas cowtowns in this respect, see Robert R. Dykstra, "The Cattle Town Experience: Social Process and the Cattle-Trading Centers, 1867-1885" (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, State University of Iowa, 1964), pp. 92-108.

⁹⁵

Compiled from U.S., Bureau of the Census, Tenth Census of the United States, 1880, Wyoming Schedules (National Archives, Washington).

Wyoming, assessed by the county at \$156,930; another was Joseph M. Carey who owned over 20,000 head, assessed at \$64,113.⁹⁶

Of those who went into sheepraising, M. E. Post owned 45,000 head, and F. E. Warren, together with a partner, owned about 22,000 head. In reviewing some of these statistics, the editor of the Sun concluded that if the present rate of expansion continued for several more years, "our cattle kings will rival the great bonanza bloods of California, or the railroad magnates of the east."⁹⁷ Typical of visitors' comments on

Cheyenne's social structure was that by C. H. Mayo who observed to his parents that "the men of wealth here are for the most part stockmen."⁹⁸

The new bonanza seemed to offer more economic stability and security than the gold rush or the original boom that had resulted in the city's founding. Forgotten were the previous disappointments and periods of despair as the city turned single-mindedly to embrace its third boom.

⁹⁶Laramie County, Treasurer, Assessment Rolls and Tax Lists, 1880 (Wyoming State Archives and Historical Department, Cheyenne).

⁹⁷July 9, 1880.

⁹⁸Mayo to his mother, May 2, 1880, Mayo Collection.

CHAPTER VIII

GOLD IS THE CATALYST: LIFE IN A REVIVING BOOM TOWN

Cheyenne's dynamic activity had materially influenced the opening and successful settlement of the Black Hills region. The metropolitan relationship which developed extended beyond the strictly commercial and material, for Cheyenne also was partly responsible for the direction of social development in the new mining communities. The role played by Cheyenne in this respect could be compared to that played by Omaha and Denver during Cheyenne's founding. Cheyenne provided urbanites like Whitehead and Kuykendall, whose experience in social organization in Cheyenne was used to advantage in the Hills. Many Black Hills residents kept in touch with regional and national events through the pages of Cheyenne's newspapers which were widely circulated through the Hills even after many of the new towns began publishing their own papers. The first theater and legitimate troupe were introduced to the mining region by Cheyenne's irrepressible theatrical entrepreneur, James McDaniel. Like Cheyenne in its infancy, these new communities looked to the experience of established communities for guidance in forming municipal governments. While Cheyenne was less than ten years old, its form of civic admini-

stration and its city ordinances provided useful models for the new communities.

The metropolitan relationship, of course, was not merely a one-way affair, for Cheyenne's character was greatly affected by the gold rush and by the contact with these new frontier communities. The city's population soon increased to a figure approaching 5,000 and, while much of this population was of the temporary sort, the pace of life in the city was visibly quickened. The ebullient frontier atmosphere of 1867-1868 returned with the saloons and gambling halls, the variety and legitimate theaters, all virtually defunct during the depression of the early seventies, suddenly blossoming again. Moreover, the more conservative social institutions were profoundly affected by the sense of activity brought on by the gold rush. The situation in Cheyenne was similar in a small way to that in the California towns where gold had "performed miracles in the realm of things cultural." As in California, Cheyenne's newspapers, schools, and even churches "put forth vigorous new growth and fruited precociously," because of the new boom.¹

Unlike the experience of these California communities, however, the social and economic effects of the gold rush on Cheyenne's life were short-lived, encompassing only

¹John W. Caughey, Gold is the Cornerstone (Berkeley, 1948), p. 272. Rodman Paul, Mining Frontiers of the Far West, 1848-1880 (New York, 1963), pp. 48-57.

the years 1875 to 1877. Yet the gold rush was a much-needed stimulant. The renewal of the vibrant frontier spirit restored the self-confidence which had characterized the founding of the city.

The resurgence of activity reminiscent of the city's earliest days accentuated the contrasts inherent in the physical appearance of the city and in its social structure. Unlike the railroad boom town of the late 1860's where urban life was only tenuously beginning, this new boom took place in a community where traditional social institutions were now relatively well established. Visitors especially were startled by the results:

A reckless, wild sort of air mingles with unexpected touches of wealth and culture. In the streets we see ladies dressed in the latest fashions; stylish turn-outs, and blooded horses. . . . Besides these finer signs of permanency and progress, there are sights new to our Eastern eyes. A six-horse stage bowls through the streets. . . . Freight wagons, canvas covered . . . drawn by ten yoke of oxen, are headed toward the Hills.²

More basic perhaps than outward appearances was a growing contrast between the various groups that made up the city's population. With the city a major take-off point for the gold fields, thousands of prospective miners passed through during the height of the rush. Adding to the transient character of the population were the hundreds of freighters and teamsters who made Cheyenne their tempor-

²Cincinnati Commercial, August 5, 1878, quoted by Sun, August 10, 1878.

ary headquarters.³ Mrs. Frank Leslie described Cheyenne's streets in 1877 as "crowded with every variety of wild, rough frontiersman--miners, teamsters, drovers, Mexicans, scouts, ferocious to look upon."⁴ Like every western boom town, Cheyenne also attracted hundreds of assorted characters who hoped to cash in on the excitement in one way or another. Some of these transients, taking advantage of the romantic publicity of Ned Buntline and the Beadle dime novels, were becoming professional frontiersmen, calling themselves "Buckskin Jack," "Idaho Bill," "Texas Jack," and so on. The most famous of this type attracted to Cheyenne by the Black Hills excitement were James Butler Hickok, better known as "Wild Bill," and Martha Jane Canary, or "Calamity Jane." Hickok became a feature at McDaniel's and the gambling houses during the summer of 1875, but the county sheriff, unimpressed with the reputation of this former peace officer, charged him with vagrancy soon after his arrival. In an apparent attempt to settle down, Hickok married a former circus performer, but the Methodist minister who performed the ceremony wrote in his register:

³In 1880, after a great decline in the northern overland traffic there were still sixty-seven residents who listed their occupation as teamster or freighter. Few of these men had homes and families, and most lodged in boarding houses or inexpensive hotels. U.S., Bureau of the Census, Tenth Census of the United States, 1880, Wyoming Schedules (National Archives, Washington).

⁴Mrs. Frank Leslie, California, A Pleasure Trip from Gotham to the Golden Gate (New York, 1877), p. 48.

"Don't think they meant it."⁵ During the following summer, Hickok went to St. Louis to raise an expedition for the Black Hills; as he passed through Cheyenne in June, the vagrancy charge was finally dismissed. Less than two months later the Leader headlined the news of his death in Deadwood.⁶

Martha Jane Canary, whose life as Calamity Jane is almost entirely obscured by myth, occasionally visited the city during 1876 and 1877. A coarse, mannish frontierswoman, she made some trips to Deadwood from Cheyenne, at least once in the company of troops but usually as a bullwhacker on freight wagons. Her sexual and alcoholic exploits were already legendary and the local press was not above adding to her questionable reputation. After one short sojourn in the city jail for drunkenness, she reportedly rented a horse and buggy from J. C. Abney's livery stable, in order to drive to Fort Russell. Imbibing freely on the way, she missed Fort

⁵Quoted by Malcom Libni Cook, "The Methodist Episcopal Church in Wyoming, 1867-1888" (unpublished Master's thesis, Denver University, 1955), p. 43.

⁶Laramie County, District Court, Criminal Appearance Dockets, June 17, 1875; June 12, 1876 (Wyoming State Archives and Historical Department, Cheyenne). Annie D. Tallent, The Black Hills; or, The Last Hunting Ground of the Dakotahs (St. Louis, 1899), pp. 100-101. Leader, June 8, August 12, 1876. Sun, March 8, 1876. One of the few solid accounts of Hickok's activities is Clarence S. Paine, "Wild Bill Hickok and Calamity Jane," The Black Hills, ed. Roderick Peattie (New York, 1952), pp. 156-59. For a huge number of detailed reviews of the fantastically inaccurate literature on Hickok and Calamity Jane, see Ramon F. Adams, Burs Under the Saddle: A Second Look at Books and Histories of the West (Norman, 1964).

Russell entirely, and supposedly arrived at Fort Laramie, ninety miles away, the next day.⁷

While the press usually took advantage of the notoriety of these frontier characters and helped publicize their exploits, permanent residents generally resented outsiders' attempts to picture the frontier type as characteristic of Westerners. One New York reporter, for example, divided Cheyenne's population into three types: "Some are noted for their shooting propensities, others for their gambling and some few for their liberality and public spirit." Looking for "a distinctive type of Western character," he interviewed a certain "Cherokee Bob" and "old Zip Coon."⁸

As a result of the expanding cattle industry in the city's vicinity, new types of transients, the Texas drovers and the stockherders hired by the local cattlemen, made their appearance in the city, although in smaller numbers than might be expected. In fact, the appearance of these cowboys on the city's streets in 1878 was unusual enough to warrant special mention in the press.⁹ These cowboys were hardly the popular

⁷Leader, June 20, July 7, 1877. Sun, July 7, 1877; February 19, 1879. Isaac Bard, Diary, February 21, 1876 (Western Americana Collection, Yale University, New Haven). Roberta B. Sollid, Calamity Jane, A Study in Historical Criticism (Helena, 1958), pp. 29-30, 73, 83. Paine, in Peattie, The Black Hills, pp. 164-176.

⁸Frank Leslie's Illustrated (New York), October 6, 1877.

⁹Sun, July 22, 1878.

heroes of western mythology. Social divisions between them and the urban residents were accentuated by the pattern of settlement in the Territory. Governor J. W. Hoyt's description of Wyoming's population in 1878 applies particularly to Cheyenne:

Of all the capitalists engaged in the stock business and mining very nearly the whole number also live in the towns, even though their mines or ranches should be two or more hundred miles in the interior. The herders, and they who, as foremen, have immediate oversight of the herds and flocks or mines, live on the ranches or in the camps. . . . In the towns they [the cattlemen] are the men who, with the merchants, prominent men of the trades, and professional men, mold society and govern in public affairs.¹⁰

There is evidence that some of the city's permanent residents, especially a wealthier group, were becoming more conscious of their collective selves in reaction to the large influx of transients. According to one observer, this self-styled "better element" was drawing "the reins of exclusiveness" by 1877.¹¹ Mentioned in this regard were F. E. Warren, J. M. Carey, E. A. Slack, and Luke Voorhees, indicating the diversity of economic interest of the city's social leaders--a wealthy merchant, a former territorial government appointee now in the cattle business, a newspaper editor, and the man-

¹⁰ U.S., Congress, House, "Annual Report of the Governor, Wyoming Territory," Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 45th Cong., 3rd Sess., 1878, Exec. Doc. 1, pp. 1172-73.

¹¹ Carrie Adell Strahorn, Fifteen Thousand Miles by Stage (London, 1911), p. 17. Close friends of the E. A. Slack family, Mrs. Strahorn and her husband spent several summers in Cheyenne in the late 1870's.

ager of the stage line to the Black Hills. Residents of the egalitarian West were not embarrassed by these growing social distinctions. As Robert Strahorn pointed out in his Hand-Book of Wyoming . . ., a publication designed to attract immigration,

it is not the case, as if often assumed in the east, that distinctions in society . . . are lacking here in the new west. As the merits and demerits of settlers are disclosed these distinctions inevitably appear here as elsewhere. In expecting to find boors and gentlemen upon a common social level the visitor will find himself happily or unhappily disappointed according to his taste or disposition.¹²

While the city's permanent residents drew sharp distinctions between themselves and the transients, almost everyone, permanent or transient in the city, seems to have united in a hatred of the handful of Chinese residents. The usually reserved Sun printed advertisements such as : "Why patronize the Chinamen when you can get better work done at the Chicago Laundry?" and commented editorially: "A vote taken in Cheyenne today would find it unanimous in favor of shutting out the rabbit-nosed, almond-eyed, pig-tailed, rat-eating, opium-smoking heathen."¹³ As in boom towns throughout the West, the Chinese were confined to the most degrading tasks, then resented for their enterprise and willingness to work for

¹²Robert Strahorn, The Hand-Book of Wyoming and Guide to the Black Hills and Big Horn Regions for Citizen, Emigrant and Tourist (Cheyenne, 1877), p. 107.

¹³Sun, April 30, 1878; March 1, 1879.

low wages.¹⁴ By comparison, the Negro proportion of the population (5.6% in 1880) appears to have been more favorably regarded. However, they did not have a higher status in the West than they might have had anywhere else in the country outside of the South. Most of the city's Negroes were crowded into the closest thing to a slum in the city, a section on the western outskirts known as "Little Chicago," and, like the Chinese, were employed only in the most menial positions.¹⁵

Social distinctions were accentuated by the return to the city of forms of entertainment usually associated with frontier boom towns. Saloons, gambling halls, and brothels prospered during the height of the gold rush. These institutions did not cater exclusively to the floating population, but certainly tended to become the social centers for those temporarily in the city. While the presence of these establishments was often publicly criticized, they were tolerated because of the fear that if Cheyenne developed a reputation for puritanism, many of those going to the Hills might go via some more permissive city. About sixty saloons were in operation, which meant a ratio of one saloon for every seventy-five

¹⁴ For examples from other parts of the West, see W. Turrentine Jackson, Treasure Hill, Portrait of a Silver Mining Camp (Tucson, 1963), pp. 91-92, and Duane A. Smith, Rocky Mountain Mining Camps, The Urban Frontier (Bloomington, 1967), pp. 29-34.

¹⁵ Most of the city's 194 Negroes were listed as servants, laborers, and cooks in the 1880 census. Sun, July 22, 26, 1878; May 9, 1879.

persons (based on an estimated population of 4,500). Authorities in the larger eastern cities usually regarded a ratio of 1 to 100 as calamitous.¹⁶ Gambling houses, which had completely disappeared during the depressed early seventies, were again in full swing. In the fall of 1875, Glafcke of the Leader claimed that seven gambling houses and twenty-five professional gamblers were fleecing willing victims.¹⁷ Four large brothels, dubbed "the Row," graced one of the city's main streets. The largest and most elegant was still that run by Ida Hamilton. More to the taste of a visiting frontiersman was Jennie Martin's less elegant Double Decker. In addition to the thirty or forty demi-monde, the city was said to have "about forty beer-jerkers and actresses--who, like Goldsmith's chest of drawers, serve double purpose."¹⁸

In spite of the renewed activity of the city's whiskey mills, gambling houses, and brothels, Cheyenne's social life during this period was staid compared to life in the mining camps.¹⁹ One reason for the difference was the rela-

¹⁶ Sun, September 16, October 3, 1877. Laramie Weekly Sentinel, January 31, 1876. Blake McKelvey, The Urbanization of America, 1860-1915 (New Brunswick, N.J., 1963), p. 160.

¹⁷ Leader, September 2, 11, 17, November 5, 1875.

¹⁸ Sun, October 3, 1877. L. G. Flannery (ed.), John Hunton's Diary, Vol. III (Lingle, Wyoming, 1956), January 8, 1878. By 1880, when the number of prostitutes had probably dropped from the number in 1875-1877, the census listed twenty-four women by that profession.

¹⁹ See, for example, the description of the "seamy

tively stable and established nature of Cheyenne's society before the boom struck. On the other hand, Cheyenne shared with the mining camps in benefitting from the new vigor of the more positive forms of entertainment. Theatrical entertainment, for example, was particularly susceptible to gold everywhere in the West. San Francisco became the theatrical headquarters of the Far West and Seattle later became a major center for vaudeville during the Alaska gold rush. In much the same way, even if to a lesser degree, theater was stimulated in the cities involved in the Black Hills rush; Yankton, Bismarck, and especially Cheyenne.²⁰ The full effect of gold was not evident in 1875 and early 1876, for the quality of theater offered and public interest were both low. In 1875 the Leader reported that only occasionally "a third rate company stops over here to gather a few pennies, but they generally get out of town again on the next train. First class entertainments have for the past year or two passed by Cheyenne."²¹ When the widely travelled Jack Langrische company presented the first serious run of plays in years in 1876,

side" of life in the mining camps in Smith, Rocky Mountain Mining Camps. . ., pp. 221-41, and Watson Parker, Gold in the Black Hills (Norman, 1966), pp. 141-61.

²⁰ Harold E. and Ernestine Briggs, "The Early Theater on the Northern Plains," MVHR, XXXVII (September, 1950), 241, 244, 254. Glen Hughes, A History of the American Theater, 1700-1950 (New York, 1951), p. 306. Caughey, Gold is the Cornerstone, p. 278.

²¹ Leader, February 13, 1875.

public interest was disappointingly low, even though the troupe was reported to have presented "all the newest and best plays which have delighted the theatregoers of the principal eastern cities for the past year."²²

By 1877, however, the picture had changed; interest was greater and the quality of entertainment higher. The attendance at a concert surprised the Sun: "that Cheyenne should furnish an audience of six hundred and the entertainment not a circus . . . is certainly creditable to the culture and refinement of the frontier city."²³ Both the Richings-Bernard Opera Company and the Forrester Dramatic Company which played out of Denver, were well received and returned again the following year. Residents of Cheyenne could now see such plays as Jane Eyre, The Lady of Lyons, Under the Gas-Light, Kathleen Mavourneen, and Uncle Tom's Cabin, or such operas as Lucia di Lammermoor, the Bohemian Girl, Il Trovatore, La Traviata, and Faust performed by these professional travelling troupes. Of particular interest to Cheyenne's residents was a dramatized version of Mark Twain's The Gilded Age, with its chief character, Col. Beriah Sellars, a caricature of the western entrepreneur. The audience was reported "in complete sympathy with the erratic, scheming genius."²⁴

²²Leader, June 9, 21, 1876. Sun, May 27, 1876.

²³November 22, 1877.

²⁴Leader, March 5, 9, 11, 24, 30, August 3, 1877; March

Of personal interest to many local residents were the Buffalo Bill Cody shows which arrived in Cheyenne for the first time in 1879. Although the Sun pointed out that Cody had "much to learn yet in order to render him a star of the sock and buskin," his act was enthusiastically received by local residents, probably because many of them had known him for years. Westerners seemed as disposed as Easterners to enjoy shows like Knights of the Plains or Buffalo Bill's Best Trail, even though it presented a largely fictitious picture of western life.²⁵ The first local attempt to romanticize the area appears to have been a play written and produced in Cheyenne by A. R. Johnson in 1878 called Life in the West or the Road Agents of the Black Hills. A company of local actors successfully took the play to Boulder, Central City, and other small towns in the region.²⁶

While frontier communities like Cheyenne had almost no indigenous theater, residents could nevertheless see many of the same actors and plays that appeared before New York and San Francisco audiences. That this should be so was the result of several circumstances. The city became relatively prosperous in the years that the travelling

3, 1878. Sun, March 8, 1878. William Campton Bell, "A History of the Theatrical Activities of Cheyenne, Wyoming" (unpublished Master's thesis, Northwestern University, 1935), pp. 61-70.

²⁵ Sun, August 2, 3, 1879. Leader, August 2, 1879.

²⁶ Sun, December 11, 1878; January 17, 1879. Leader, January 11, 1879.

company became a national phenomenon. Of more importance was the city's location on the main transcontinental route used by the companies on their way to and from the Pacific Coast. As Cheyenne was approximately a day's train travel west of Omaha or east of Salt Lake City, companies found it convenient to stop even if the audiences were smaller than in other centers. Community pride, however, dictated that well-known troupes be greeted by respectably-sized audiences. Otherwise, how could local publicists continue to claim that "there is not a better 'show' town than Cheyenne in the United States."²⁷

But by 1879 the city was being overwhelmed. Slack complained that Cheyenne and other small western communities were being "showed to death" by the large number of troupes crossing the continent. A small city like Cheyenne simply could not be expected to provide good audiences for all companies and he concluded that "the amusement business has been largely overdone."²⁸ The situation soon changed, however. By the following year the number of road companies playing the city had dropped considerably, partly because of the lack of a first class theater in the city. Not until the completion of a new Opera House was the situation improved.

²⁷ Sun, July 30, 1879.

²⁸ Sun, July 30, 1879.

In addition to primitive theaters and poor stage facilities, those producing legitimate theater in the city during these boom years were faced by other problems. As elsewhere on the frontier, all classes attended the theater, with predictable results. Many of the spectators often were boisterous, rudely interrupting the performances with loud comments on individual presentations. Slack reported that a certain city official, taking his wife to a reserved seat in the front of the theater, discovered that the next two seats were occupied by well-known prostitutes. Slack believed such a situation might be prevented "if the intoxicated soldiers, negroes, dregs and wantons were separated from the best families." His suggestion, if adopted, would have introduced a system similar to that in frontier St. Louis, but was greeted by the accusation that he was advocating a caste system.²⁹

The theatrical scene in Cheyenne continued to be dominated by James McDaniel. After a fire destroyed his original saloon-theater-auditorium complex in 1875, he remodelled the old Planter's House and used it as a variety theater, and refitted Allen's Gold Room for legitimate theater. The Leader predicted that the large immigration to the Hills would make these theaters a "gold mine to a

²⁹ Sun, March 18, 21, 23, 1879. Leader, March 22, 1879. Briggs and Briggs, MVHR, XXXVII, 263. William B. Carson, The Theater on the Frontier: The Early Years of the St. Louis Stage (New York, [1932] 1965), p. 183.

wide awake manager like McDaniels."³⁰ In 1877 he apparently abandoned the two older buildings and constructed a large two-storey theater in which both variety shows and legitimate theater were presented. He also took advantage of the fertile field for entertainment offered by the new mining camps in the Black Hills. During the height of the rush he transported part of his theatrical equipment to Deadwood and introduced the first legitimate productions, by the Langrische troupe, to the Hills.³¹

At least in a superficial sense, McDaniel's places of entertainment were still symbolic of Cheyenne's character. Visitors to the city, whether Easterners like Mrs. Frank Leslie or frontiersmen like John Hunton, considered a visit there a must during their sojourns in the city.³²

The public's reaction to McDaniel's entertainment was generally favorable. The editors of the Cheyenne Daily News believed he had done more for the city's prosperity by his promotion than any other single man. After his 1875

³⁰ Leader, August 30, 1876; also July 7, November 9, 11, 1875.

³¹ Leader, August 31, 1876; March 13, 1877; March 26, 1878. Sun, February 7, August 5, November 8, 9, 11, 14, 1877. Bell, "History of Theatrical Activities . . .," pp. 35-39. Melvin Schoberlin, From Candles to Footlights, A Biography of the Pike's Peak Theatre, 1859-1876 (Denver, 1941), pp. 255, 292. Estelline Bennett, Old Deadwood Days (New York, 1935), pp. 119-27.

³² Cheyenne Daily News, June 11, 1875, hereafter cited as News, Leader, June 12, 1875.

fire, he was strongly supported in his attempt to rebuild.³³

But Glafcke of the Leader claimed that McDaniel's shows, particularly the burlesque shows, were lewd and a disgrace to the city. After one show called Bad Dickey or Richard the Third, the Leader reported that "modesty on the stage was at a discount. Lady spectators blushed, and the gentlemen in attendance hid their faces in their pocket handkerchiefs."³⁴ Perhaps the most scathing indictment of McDaniel's type of entertainment came from the pen of J. H. Hayford in the Laramie Weekly Sentinel while McDaniel was being given public testimonials in Cheyenne in 1878.

His whole life in Cheyenne has been spent in a most untiring and thoroughly successful effort to degrade and demoralize the community. He has for years run a low, degrading, 'beer-jerking' variety theater there, an institution which would disgrace Hell. More young men have been led into paths of vice, immorality and degradation by him, more homes have been rendered desolate . . . from his den than from any other one place in all the Far West.³⁵

But if some criticized, most enjoyed his offerings. At one female minstrel show, in which the performers "were dressed in extreme summer style," and were not "in the slightest danger of being mistaken for Sabbath school teachers," the Sun reported: "They were all there. We allude of course, to the bald-headed reprobates, the newspapermen,

³³ News, June 17, 1875. Leader, July 7, 1875.

³⁴ March 22, 1878.

³⁵ April 1, 1878.

hotel men, the legal fraternity and others, who occupied front seats with enormous opera glasses."³⁶

As the boom from the Black Hills rush declined by the winter of 1878-1879, McDaniel sold his property in Cheyenne and moved to the new mining boom town of Leadville, Colorado. With his departure, the curtain rang down on a lusty, colorful chapter in the history of entertainment in frontier Cheyenne. His departure coincided with the ending generally of the frontier period of theatrical entertainment in the northern Great Plains. The next era, ushered in by the building of substantial opera houses, signalled the close of a gay, individualistic period in western theatrical entertainment.³⁷

In marked contrast to those essentially masculine forms of entertainment which reflected one side of Cheyenne's character were the sports and social functions enjoyed by the families and youths of the city. Many of the organized sports sweeping the country were becoming popular in Cheyenne. One of these was roller skating. M. A. Arnold's Recreation Hall was reported filled nightly as the young people skated for pleasure or prizes.³⁸ Croquet also became a favorite pastime

³⁶ June 11, 1879.

³⁷ Leader, April 19, 1880. Briggs and Briggs, MVHR, XXXVII, 263. Bell, "History of Theatrical Activities . . .," p. 39.

³⁸ News, January 15, March 26, April 22, 1875. Leader, March 25, 1876. Foster Rhea Dulles, America Learns to Play, A History of Popular Recreation, 1607-1940 (New York, 1940),

which brought men and women together in wholesome recreation: "Many are the little parties that may be seen every pleasant evening indulging in this game."³⁹ Driving, rather than horseback riding which later became particularly associated with the West, became increasingly fashionable. Residents owned their own horses and carriages or hired them from one of the city's four livery stables to enjoy the "delightful roads and pleasant drives" to Fort Russell or around one of the lakes. With typical local pride, Slack of the Sun believed that "Cheyenne owns more fine road horses, and a large number of first-class vehicles, than any city of its age and size in the world. To be without a horse in Cheyenne is to be deprived of one of the principal pleasures obtainable in Wyoming."⁴⁰

Some of the spectator sports popular in gold rush towns--cock fighting or dog fighting--were never reported in Cheyenne. Instead, the growing national sport of baseball remained popular and the local team, the Red Stockings, were the pride of the city in 1877. Territorial and city officials accompanied the team on well-publicized and successful trips to Denver, Salt Lake City, and elsewhere.⁴¹

pp. 193-94.

³⁹News, July 2, 1875.

⁴⁰April 29, 1879.

⁴¹Sun, May 16, July 7, August 1, 1877; July 19, 25, 1878. Dulles, America Learns to Play . . . , pp. 172, 185-91. Jackson, Treasure Hill . . . , pp. 72-81.

By 1878 another popular spectator sport was the firemen's tournament. As in baseball, local pride was at stake as local volunteer fire companies competed against the skill of fire companies from as far away as Council Bluffs, Omaha, Central City, and Denver during a Fourth of July celebration."⁴²

The prosperity of the late seventies also stimulated the organization and activity of a variety of social clubs. A diversity of interest characterized this new growth. No longer was Cheyenne's society "a unit on all questions of a social kind. . . . That Arcadian day has passed away, and in this era . . . we find our people divided into as many cliques as there were colors in Joseph's coat."⁴³ Balls were sponsored by everyone from the fire companies and the Knights of the Red Cross, to the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers. A large number of singing and dancing clubs were active, and dancing had "been made a very respectable amusement by the better class of people taking part in the frequent hops."⁴⁴ Three dancing schools taught such fashionable steps as the Parlor Quadrille, Boulevard Quadrille, Glide Schotische, and the Newport Glide Waltze during the winter of 1877-1878.

⁴²In Cheyenne, City Council, Minutes of Meetings (Wyoming State Archives and Historical Department, Cheyenne) there are numerous references during May and June, 1878, for example, concerning invitations to other towns. Sun, May 30, June 1, July 6, 1878.

⁴³Sun, December 9, 1877.

⁴⁴Sun, February 22, 1878.

Churches sponsored various social events of their own, from monthly Sunday school concerts at the Congregational Church and concerts by the Catholic choir at Recreation Hall to spelling bees sponsored by the Episcopalian ladies. The lodges were prospering; the Masons built a temple in 1878 which cost just under \$20,000.⁴⁵

As worthy of a city now twelve years old, an Old Pioneers Association was founded in the fall of 1879. Those who had settled in the city before January 1, 1868, were eligible for membership, and while no statistics were released, a surprising number of influential residents appear to have been eligible. J. R. Whitehead, the chairman of the executive committee, had by this time returned from the Black Hills. Other well-known figures on the executive were W. W. Corlett, J. C. Abney, and M. A. Arnold.⁴⁶

The variety of social activities and sports available to the city's residents was comparable to that of any prosperous, small town, but was in marked contrast to the minimal social activity of the surrounding countryside. One local rancher's wife, for example, recalled the necessity of organizing other families within a twenty-mile radius for week-end dances in successive homes, in order to provide

⁴⁵ Leader, January 5, February 2, 4, 1876. Sun, April 9, 1876; September 30, October 12, 30, November 18, December 2, 1877; February 22, July 25, 1878. Alfred James Mokler, History of Freemasonry in Wyoming (Chicago, 1924), p. 51.

⁴⁶ Sun, November 2, 9, 1879.

some form of social contact.⁴⁷

Some of the social functions were conscious attempts to introduce an air of social sophistication to the frontier city. On New Year's Day, 1879, for the second successive year, a list of homes having held Open House was published in the press.⁴⁸ The sixteen names are a good list of Cheyenne's social elite. The ladies were reported resolved that "the pleasant and enjoyable custom of receiving calls should be inaugurated with due eclat and metropolitan etiquette."⁴⁹

While sports and social clubs received increasing public support, cultural activities, except for the theater, remained almost non-existent. Dramatic, literary, and debating clubs met occasionally, but little interest was shown despite the efforts of Governor Hoyt to make his residence the center of such activities. The Ladies Reading Room Association for a time energetically supported a public reading room, but efforts to start a public library continued to be

⁴⁷ Mrs. George Gilland, "Pioneering in the '70's," Annals of Wyoming, V (July, 1927), 23.

⁴⁸ The Sun, January 2, 1879, listed the names as follows:

Mrs. A. H. Swan	Mrs. Major Wharn	Mrs. Prof. Wells
Annett	E. A. Slack	Judge Slaughter
W. H. Hubbard	B. Hellman	George Draper
Furniss	J. M. Carey	Frank Hurlburt
J. S. Taylor	Col. Horn	Gov. Hoyt
	Warren	

⁴⁹ Sun, January 2, 1879.

unsuccessful.⁵⁰

The vigorous spirit which stimulated entertainment and social activity also affected, to a lesser degree, the schools and churches. The quality of education compared favorably with that in other established western communities as the modern system, introduced by Principal N. E. Stark in 1872, was more fully developed during this period. The city's increased population was soon reflected in the public school's enrollment, which rose from 106 in 1874 to 460 in 1877, an increase of over 400% in three years. With the decline of the city's population after the passing of the peak of the gold rush boom by 1878 and 1879, enrollment dropped to 416. Of the eligible children in the city, 94% were enrolled in the school, a percentage much higher than that in rural areas, but not an unusual percentage for prosperous little western communities. Central City, Colorado, for example, about ten years old in 1871, had 310 out of 314 eligible children enrolled (99%). While enrollment in Cheyenne was high, attendance was another matter. School board officials and Principal Stark constantly were forced to remind parents of the necessity of regular attendance for their children.⁵¹

⁵⁰John Wesley Hoyt, "Autobiography" (Wyoming State Archives and Historical Department, Cheyenne), pp. 325-26. (Typescript.) Laramie Weekly Sentinel, November 16, 1878. Sun, May 22, October 26, 30, 1878; January 30, February 10, 11, March 29, April 11, August 6, 1879.

⁵¹Public school statistics were published in the

The growth of the teaching staff more than kept pace with the quickly growing enrollment. In 1875 Principal Stark and two female teachers taught 282 students while by 1879 he and his assistant, Professor C. L. Wells, plus five female teachers handled 416 students. This constituted a change in ratio from 94 to 58 students per teacher, and brought the system into line with Denver where the ratio was about 54 students per teacher.⁵² The teaching staff and especially Stark were usually highly regarded by local residents. Stark not only moulded Cheyenne's system but also influenced the development of education generally throughout the Territory through the Teachers' Institute which began to meet annually in 1874. Under his direction, teachers examined available textbooks and discussed teaching methods. Although he was often under pressure from other teachers and even from the press to make education in Wyoming more practical, he usually defended the traditional curriculum successfully.⁵³

local press, either under the name of the superintendent of schools or of Principal Stark. Leader, October 28, 1875. Sun, May 2, 1876; September 1, 1877; July 31, September 19, December 5, 1878; January 13, 1879. For a comparison with another prosperous little western community, see Lynn I. Perrigo, "The First Decade of Public Schools at Central City," Colorado Magazine, XII (May, 1935), 81-91.

⁵² News, May 12, 1875. Sun, May 2, 1876; September 26, 1877; June 28, August 6, 1879. W. B. Vickers, History of the City of Denver, Arapahoe County, and Colorado (Chicago, 1880), pp. 245-47.

⁵³ News, April 13, June 17, 1875. Leader, May 11,

Under Stark's direction a public high school program was introduced in 1875, indicating that Cheyenne was keeping up with larger western centers such as Omaha (1872) and Denver (1874) in this respect. No other public high schools were founded in Wyoming for another sixteen years (Buffalo, 1881), although two parochial academies in Laramie offered high school courses before 1880. Although superior to other schools in the Territory, facilities in Cheyenne's schools were far from adequate. A \$10,000 addition to the school in 1877, however, alleviated a space problem. The new addition included a library room designed to enrich the high school program; the collection of books seems to have emphasized historical works by authors such as Motley, Gibbon, and Prescott.⁵⁴

As the quality of public schools was a matter of community pride, local residents, like those in other western communities tended to overrate their schools. Even though the school was only recently established, they believed it equal or superior to any in the country. Such a view was supported by Governor Hoyt who had prepared a comparative study of the educational systems of Europe and the United

1874; August 6, 1879. Laramie Weekly Sentinel, January 31, 1876. Sun, June 28, 1879. Terence D. Fromong, "The Development of Public Elementary and Secondary Education in Wyoming; 1869-1917" (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Wyoming, 1962), pp. 132-150.

⁵⁴ Sun, June 24, September 30, 1877. Leader, May 31, June 29, 1878. Fromong, "The Development of Public Education . . . ," p. 83.

States for the State Department before coming to Wyoming. In 1878, Hoyt reported to the Secretary of the Interior that the Cheyenne and Laramie schools "are really among the best of their class in the country, being well directed and admirably taught." The system was patterned after the best models in the United States and was very similar to that of Michigan, according to Hoyt.⁵⁵

The substantial progress of the public school was paralleled by the new strength of the five local churches. Their prosperity and influence contrasted sharply with the struggling churches in Deadwood or other gold rush towns.⁵⁶ The Sun stoutly maintained that there was "no town in the Far West in which the churches are better supported than in Cheyenne."⁵⁷ Church attendance seemed to bear out this assertion. For example, on a relatively average Sunday (in early December, 1877), 130 attended services at the Methodist and 113 at the Congregationalist Churches.⁵⁸ The Methodists in particular "fully kept pace" with the rapid growth of the city during the Black Hills excitement. Membership was increased from 72 to 104 through a series of revival meetings

⁵⁵ House, "Report of the Governor, Wyoming Territory," Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1878, p. 1174. Sun, June 29, December 10, 1878.

⁵⁶ Parker, Gold in the Black Hills, pp. 160-61, and Smith, Rocky Mountain Mining Camps. . ., pp. 105-11.

⁵⁷ Sun, July 13, 1877.

⁵⁸ Sun, December 4, 1877; May 29, 1878.

held by Rev. W. F. Warren who served the church from 1874 to 1877.⁵⁹ The Congregationalists had virtually disintegrated after 1873 when Josiah Strong left. When the next minister, C. M. Sanders, arrived two years later, only 17 members remained. Through Sanders' tremendous activity, however (for example, in 1877 he preached 114 sermons, held 70 prayer meetings, made 300 visits), the congregation was soon back on its feet. By 1879 he reported a membership of 63 and proudly announced that the congregation would no longer have to rely financially on the American Home Missionary Society.⁶⁰

The membership of the Presbyterians, like that of the Congregationalists, had dwindled due to lack of leadership and the depression. When Rev. J. Y. Cowhick arrived in 1875, active membership was down to eleven. By 1877, the congregation was flourishing; twenty members were added in that one year.⁶¹ The Episcopalians too reflected the general prosperity. By 1878, membership was over fifty.⁶² The Roman Catholic congregation's membership remained relatively

⁵⁹ District Methodist (Greeley), October, 1876. Sun, April 30, May 7, 1876; October 16, 1878.

⁶⁰ Clerk's Minutes, Vol. II (First Congregational Church Archives, Cheyenne). Sun, January 1, 1878; August 5, 1879.

⁶¹ Minutes of Session, August 21, 1875; February 4, 1876; April 6, 1879 (First Presbyterian Church Archives, Cheyenne). Sun, March 15, 1877; January 8, 1878.

⁶² Parish Register, Vol. I, April 8, 1877 (St. Mark's Episcopal Church Archives, Cheyenne).

constant during this period (about fifty to seventy-five families), but increased prosperity allowed them to build a substantial brick church whose interior was described as "beyond doubt the most artistic piece of work ever done in this city."⁶³ During 1877 a Baptist congregation was organized but this particular congregation remained small and weak, and used the Congregationalist Church as a place of worship.⁶⁴

Several factors were responsible for the sudden growth of the churches. Certainly the increased population was one, but Slack of the Sun suggested another possibility: although many permanent residents of the city had been affiliated with a church in the East, they had been too busy with the material struggle to bother with religion. Now that they were well-established, they were renewing their former denominational alliances.⁶⁵ Moreover, as the public became more church-conscious, the denominations themselves, such as the pioneering Methodists were adjusting to the new situation in the West. An example of this is a statement made at a local Methodist conference in 1879:

The frontier today is far different from that of twenty-five years ago. Then, the habits and homes of the people in the so-called west were simple, and their wants in churches as in everything else, were few and easily supplied. Now, since the imaginary line between the east

⁶³Sun, September 25, 1877. Patrick A. McGovern, History of the Diocese of Cheyenne (Cheyenne, 1941), pp. 31-33.

⁶⁴Sun, September 25, 1877; September 19, 1879.

⁶⁵May 14, 1876.

and west has been removed . . . we find the people in intelligence and culture and taste, the peers of any other people in the world. They have been accustomed to good churches in the east, and they want them in the west They will not attend the place of worship, unless it is at least comfortable and attractively neat enough to be inviting.⁶⁶

But a continuing problem faced by these little congregations was that of suitable leadership, especially at the pastoral level. With the exception of the occasional dynamic leaders such as Warren of the Methodists and Sanders of the Congregationalists, most congregations were unable to attract and hold competent clergymen even though they were now in a position to support ministers financially.⁶⁷

In spite of the difficulties with leadership, most of the churches broadened their field of activity during this period. As the predominantly adult male population of the earlier years was being transformed by the increasing proportion of children and youths, most churches began to organize or re-emphasize their Sabbath schools. The extent to which they succeeded is indicated by a compilation by a Sun reporter. On one Sunday in 1877, the total attendance at Sabbath schools throughout the city was 414 while the average attendance at the public school was only a little over 300. (The

⁶⁶ Methodist Episcopal Church, Minutes of the Proceedings of the Seventeenth Session of the Colorado Annual Conference, 1879 (Denver, 1879), p. 31.

⁶⁷ District Methodist, October 1876. See also letter to the Editor, Sun, June 14, 1879, concerning similar problems faced by the Episcopalians.

Sabbath school figure of course included a sizeable number of adults.)⁶⁸

Some of the churches also concerned themselves directly with the life of the community through a massive temperance crusade. The temperance movement was gaining national momentum but the necessity of this activity was particularly evident in Cheyenne. The gold rush had led to a great increase in the number of saloons and in the amount of alcohol consumed. The initiative in the temperance movement was taken by the Methodists who organized a Murphy Temperance Society in August of 1877. The driving force behind the movement was Rev. Guy Allen of Colorado who held nightly meetings for almost two months at the Methodist church. Allen dramatically illustrated the "simply prodigious" amount of drinking done by Cheyenne's residents and the cost of this in terms of law enforcement by counting the number of saloons (he found sixty), and by examining the police court records for the first eight months of 1877. Police had made 101 arrests a month traceable to liquor. He estimated the average cost of each arrest at \$8; therefore, liquor had cost city taxpayers \$6,464. Figures such as these apparently impressed the practical people of Cheyenne. By the middle of September Allen announced that over 1,000 persons had signed the pledge of abstinence.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ Sun, April 19, 1877; December 9, 1878. Parish Register, Vol. I, September 1, 1878.

⁶⁹ Laramie Weekly Sentinel, January 31, 1876. Sun,

Allen's crusade apparently made an impact on the city for several months as the number of crimes reportedly decreased, but less than a year later the Sun admitted that if Allen "were to come back now he would find that considerable of the work which he did then ought to be done over again."⁷⁰ Other groups in the city continued the temperance movement although with less spectacular results. For example, the Red Cross Order presented the well-known Ten Nights in a Bar Room; or the Streets of Cheyenne, in a localized version, and the Baptists occasionally presented concerts where the program was devoted to temperance topics.⁷¹

The relationship between rapid urban growth and the strength of social institutions was particularly illustrated by the new vitality and health of the local press. Five new papers were published in the years from 1874 to 1878. Two of these successfully became serious competitors of the pioneering Leader. The Cheyenne Daily News began publication in July, 1874, and was a creditable addition to the city's press. The News was sold to E. A. Slack who combined it with his Laramie Daily Sun and issued the Cheyenne Daily Sun in

June 5, August 22, September 1, 9, 11, 16, 1877. [C. G. Coutant], "History of Wyoming Written by C. G. Coutant, Pioneer Historian and Heretofore Unpublished," Annals of Wyoming, XIV (January, 1942), 74.

⁷⁰
Sun, July 12, 1878. Laramie Weekly Sentinel,
November 19, 1877.

⁷¹
Sun, April 25, 1878; April 22, 1879.

March 1876, just as the city was beginning to feel the full impact of the gold rush to the Hills. Three other attempts were made to capitalize on the reviving economy during 1877 and 1878, the Cheyenne Daily Gazette, the Daily Advertiser, and the Daily Hornet, but by this time the field was completely dominated by the Leader and the Sun, and the new ventures quickly failed. Two strong dailies obviously were filling the city's needs adequately.⁷²

The papers being published during the beginning of the gold rush excitement in 1875 and 1876 rapidly increased in size and circulation. These papers, of course, were centrally involved in causing the excitement which led to their prosperity. The News confined its activities almost exclusively to promoting a renewed interest in the Hills during 1874 and 1875. J. R. Whitehead, among others, believed Cheyenne was lucky to have "such a thunderer in the News." Six months after beginning publication, the editors were able to announce that their paper was being enlarged for the fourth time.⁷³ The size of the Leader was also enlarged by early 1876 and editor Herman Glafcke claimed that he was often unable to supply the demand for copies. He believed that pre-

⁷²News, January 11, 1875. Leader, February 22, March 2, 3, 1876. Laramie Weekly Sentinel, February 28, 1876. Cheyenne Daily Advertiser, February 20, 1878. Elizabeth Keen, "Wyoming's Frontier Newspapers," Annals of Wyoming, XXIII (October, 1961), 143. R. Strahorn, The Hand-Book of Wyoming . . . , pp. 107, 145.

⁷³News, January 11, 12, 1875.

vious to 1876 Cheyenne could not support a large daily, but because of the gold rush now warranted a seven-column daily.⁷⁴ Because of the new prosperity, he welcomed the arrival of Slack and the Sun: "Laramie City can well get along with only one newspaper, while Cheyenne can easily support a number. The Magic City needs all the editorial talent that can be brought here to make known to the world its magnificent resources."⁷⁵ The Sun was soon riding the crest of prosperity. Even the printing of 500 extra copies of one particular issue was not enough to fill the demand.⁷⁶

The role of the local editor slowly changed as the city grew rapidly because of the gold rush. One man could no longer be a determining force in the way that Nathan A. Baker had once been. The city was becoming more complex, its interests and groups diversified. Glafcke and Slack, who dominated the editorial scene in these years, were members of rival factions within the local Republican party, and devoted a great deal of space in their papers to personal diatribes against each other. For a time in 1878 they cooperated, one agreeing to publish in the morning, the other in the afternoon, but the agreement broke down and both papers appeared after that in the morning. Slack often charged that

⁷⁴ Leader, February 11, March 9, 1876.

⁷⁵ Leader, February 22, 1876.

⁷⁶ Sun, April 20, 1876.

Glafcke, who was also the city's postmaster, detained copies of the Sun for several days before mailing them to out-of-town addresses. The rivalry, which became more bitter through the years, was more than a personal struggle to capture the bulk of the reading public. Local Republicans led by J. M. Carey, opposed to Glafcke and his faction, had been instrumental in bringing Slack from Laramie to Cheyenne so that their faction would have a voice. Carey continued to look after Slack's best interests in Cheyenne, strongly recommending him for territorial political appointments on the grounds that he was "engaged in the uphill business of running newspapers . . . and as he is constantly publishing much useful information about the Territory I believe he should be encouraged."⁷⁷

Slack's career, reminding one of Mark Twain's in its variety, is an example of what went into the making of a western newspaperman. Born in upstate New York, Slack apprenticed as a printer before fighting for the Union in the Civil War. After the war he attended at least two universities in Illinois before accompanying his step-father west to South Pass City in 1868. There he was a miner, ran a sawmill, and then entered the newspaper business, buying the South Pass News from N. A. Baker. After his newspaper plant in South Pass burned in 1871, he moved to Laramie and edited the Daily

⁷⁷

J. M. Carey to W. A. Carter, March 2, 1879, Carey Collection (Western History Research Center, University of Wyoming, Laramie). W. E. Chaplin, "Some Wyoming Editors I Have Known," Annals of Wyoming, XVIII (January, 1946), 79-80.

Independent until 1875. A change in partners and political parties resulted in the Laramie Sun which was Democratic politically. A year later he was induced to move to Cheyenne, under Republican auspices.⁷⁸ While Glafcke's reputation became tarnished by his involvement in a lottery swindle,⁷⁹ Slack became the most influential newspaperman in Cheyenne and probably the Territory, where he was rivalled only by J. H. Hayford of the Laramie Sentinel. What Slack lacked in brilliance he made up by his tremendous energy and will power. Through the pages of the Cheyenne Sun and his personal involvement in countless community endeavors, he worked to help build a more civilized community, as is indicated by the many references to him in this chapter.

While the Sun's pages reflected Slack's sense of social responsibility, the paper also provided Cheyenne's residents with lighter reading, especially some excellent original humor. For several years the Sun carried a weekly column by a budding humorist, Edgar Wilson "Bill" Nye, then

⁷⁸ Numerous references to Slack's background are in E. A. Slack Correspondence, Slack Papers (Wyoming State Archives and Historical Department, Cheyenne). Keen, Annals of Wyoming, XXXIII, 146; and XXXIV, 170-71. [C. G. Coutant], Progressive Men of the State of Wyoming (Chicago, 1903), pp. 130-31. T. A. Larson, History of Wyoming (Lincoln, 1965), p. 235.

⁷⁹ Details of this dreary affair are only available from the point of view of Glafcke's opponents. The Sun dwelt on the subject at length during 1879 and a number of letters explaining the political implications can be found in F. E. Warren's Letters, Warren Collection (Western History Research Center, University of Wyoming, Laramie).

resident in Laramie. Nye later achieved fame and wealth by lecture tours and by a host of amusing books, especially his History of the United States which sold 500,000 copies. Nye came west in 1876 and became a reporter for the Laramie Sentinel where he said he learned to "write up things that never occurred with a masterly and graphic hand. Then, if they occur, I am grateful."⁸⁰ It was in just such a capacity that Nye was introduced to Cheyenne's readers when, for the sake of novelty, Nye and the Sun's city editor, J.P.C. Poulton, exchanged jobs for a week in 1877. Poulton left behind a detailed memorandum to enable Nye to write an obituary for Hon. Henry Montgomery of Cheyenne. After publication, Nye discovered that Montgomery had not died, that in fact he had never existed, and that Poulton had given him the information "to give him a start, as it were."⁸¹ In spite of this inauspicious beginning, Nye's association with Slack grew into a warm friendship. Soon after Nye left the Sentinel in 1879 to practise law in Laramie he became a correspondent of the Shiner, as he called it.

Nye certainly did not make his fortune by writing for the Sun. After one series of columns had been mailed to the Sun, he wrote Slack:

Haven't I got a \$10.00 string by this time? It seems to me now looking back over the array of sweetness that

⁸⁰ Bill Nye, His Own Life Story, with continuity by Frank Wilson Nye (New York, 1926), pp. 430-44.

⁸¹ Sun, February 25, 27, 1877.

I have mailed you as though it would certainly pool up to several millions--but--I will throw off a couple of Millions seeing it's you and call it \$10.00.⁸²

But Nye's reputation grew rapidly, and when the Sun appeared in a new impressive format and size in April, 1880, Nye felt "compelled to strike for higher wages."

However I will take into consideration everything and draw it much milder than I do for the "other fellers"--\$20.00 per month for what I am now doing. How does that strike you?

You see with greatness & powerpresses and copper faced type and general stupendousness there are drawbacks after all.⁸³

Nye was grateful that Slack had given him the opportunity to try this kind of writing: "Whether I develop into a rising master or a home missionary, I always say that the Sun has been the first to give me a friendly word."⁸⁴

The newspapers and a variety of social institutions profited from the excitement of the gold rush, but the boom period created innumerable problems for the city's administration. As in any rapidly expanding city, the demand for services such as improved streets or adequate water supply was greater than could be immediately supplied. Furthermore,

⁸² Nye to Slack, January 6, 1880, Slack Correspondence.

⁸³ Nye to Slack, April 24, 1880, Slack Correspondence.

⁸⁴ Nye to Slack, December 24, 1879, Slack Correspondence. In 1881 Nye entered the managerial end of the newspaper business as editor and manager of the Laramie Boomerang, but by 1883 was forced to leave the West because of poor health. He later became a columnist of several eastern newspapers in addition to writing books and lecturing. He apparently had amassed a sizeable fortune by the time of his death in 1896 at the age of 46.

the vagaries of a boom town's prosperity hampered substantial progress; ambitious projects, undertaken during the height of optimism and expansion, had to be paid for after the decline of the boom. Added to the difficulties raised by declining prosperity in 1878 was a problem continually faced by cities everywhere, a new charter from the legislature which drastically reduced the city government's right to tax from 27 1/2 mills under the 1869 charter to 8 mills in the new charter.⁸⁵

Public services were rapidly expanded especially during the boom year of 1877 under the enthusiastic leadership of Mayor Dwight Fisk. For example, \$11,575 was spent on street improvements compared with only \$2,836 in 1876. In addition, over \$10,000 was spent on a new waterworks system. The ensuing deficit of \$10,000, combined with a decline of the booming business activity and the limitations imposed by the new charter, dictated a more conservative approach to public spending in 1878.⁸⁶ The Sun, which supported the non-partisan Citizens Ticket headed by L. R. Bresnahan (who had been mayor in 1876), believed that

⁸⁵ Wyoming Territory, Session Laws of the Fifth Legislative Assembly, 1877 (Cheyenne, 1878), pp. 38-41. For comparable situations in other frontier cities, see Richard Wade, The Urban Frontier, Pioneer Life in Early Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Lexington, Louisville, and St. Louis (Chicago, [1959] 1964), pp. 270-73.

⁸⁶ City Council, Minutes, April 2, 16, 1878. City Council's Financial Reports published annually in Sun, January 5, 1877; January 12, 1878.

they would not "be as progressive and enterprising as the old board, but they will be excellent men for stopping up leaks and economizing."⁸⁷ The public obviously agreed. Bresnahan and the entire Citizens Ticket were elected in 1879.

This administration took its economizing measures seriously. Not only did it refuse to begin new programs but it also cut back its own operating expenses. Bresnahan agreed with council's decision to cut his mayor's salary from \$1,000 to \$500 in 1879, and stated that he was willing to accept a further reduction because of "the large amount of bonds which it is necessary to retire this year, and on account of the prevailing depression in business throughout the country." He objected, however, to the reduction of the salaries of several other officials, particularly that of the city marshal from \$75 to \$65 per month, but council overrode his veto by the required two-thirds majority and cut over \$2,000 from the annual salaries of various officials.⁸⁸

One of the reasons economizing was necessary in 1878 and 1879 was the debt of the city incurred by installing a limited waterworks in 1877. Prior to this water had been

⁸⁷Sun, January 15, 16, 1878; January 15, 1879.

⁸⁸L. R. Bresnahan to City Council, January, n.d., 1879, Bresnahan Papers (in the possession of Miss Winnifred Bresnahan, Cheyenne). City Council, Minutes, January 31, 1879. Sun, January 15, February 5, 1879.

brought to the city in a ditch via the military reservation around Fort Russell. Various schemes were proposed to replace this primitive system. In 1876 a group of local businessmen offered to install a modern system if a similar arrangement to that in Denver could be worked out. On the advice of the president of the Denver Waterworks Company, Converse, Whipple, Murrin, Dyer, and McLaughlin formed the Cheyenne Water Company and requested a twenty-year franchise and \$15,000 in city bonds. While the territorial legislature had given the city the authority to call an election on the question of bonds for waterworks, City Council, and particularly Mayor Bresnahan who favored a publicly owned system, was reluctant to grant a franchise to a private group, and the matter died in committee.⁸⁹

A limited solution finally appeared in 1877 when the Union Pacific decided to install a system similar to what it had already built in Laramie, Rawlins, and Green River. This involved bringing water from Crow Creek by pipe under pressure to serve its rolling stock and roundhouse. After talks with the city officials, the company agreed to allow the city to tap this pipe. Under Fisk's Leadership, council took advantage of this water supply and installed a system of six-inch pipes and hydrants over a portion of the down-

⁸⁹City Council, Minutes, June 25, September 24, 1875; February 4, 11, March 3, 1876. News, April 29, May 15, 1875. Leader, February 4, 5, 12, 17, March 4, 18, 25, 1876.

town area at a total cost of over \$10,000. The rest of the city continued to be served by the primitive ditch system for several more years.⁹⁰

The new system of pipes and hydrants was absolutely necessary for adequate protection against fires, particularly because council was still unable to enforce an ordinance prohibiting wooden buildings in the congested downtown area. Fire protection was also improved as this council seemed more disposed to supporting the volunteer fire companies. The Pioneer Hook and Ladder Company was given a ladder truck, the T. C. Durant Engine Company an engine room, and the Alert Hose Company, organized in December, 1877, a building and equipment. In addition to these companies, the city could expect protection from the new J. T. Clark Hose Company, made up of Union Pacific employees, as well as the crews from Fort Russell and Camp Carlin.⁹¹

Like other frontier cities faced with a large transient population, overcrowding and poor sanitation led to a high rate of disease which placed added responsibilities on civic authorities. An example was a minor smallpox epidemic

⁹⁰City Council, Minutes, May 5, September 14, 26, October 18, December 8, 1877; October 18, 29, December 13, 1878. Sun, May 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, July 14, October 26, November 13, 1877; January 12, 13, October 12, 1878; December 3, 1879.

⁹¹City Council Minutes, October 15, 1875; January 12, 1878. News, July 2, 6, 1875. Leader, January 5, 1875. Sun, November 4, 10, 1877.

which struck the city for about four months in early 1877. Council, aided by funds from the county treasury, quickly built a pest house where patients could be isolated under the supervision of Dr. George Corey. At the height of the epidemic, ten cases were reported in the pest house, all of them transients, according to the Sun. Dr. Corey insisted that several filthy boarding houses be disinfected with carbolic acid and that streets and alleys be cleared of rubbish to prevent a recurrence of the disease.⁹²

As a result of the Black Hills excitement, law enforcement again loomed as a major responsibility for civic authorities. Although the situation was far less serious than during the riotous years of 1867 and 1868, the sudden influx of a large floating population forced the city to increase its police force to insure that law and order were maintained. In 1875, a city marshal and one policeman were considered a sufficient force, but during 1876 and 1877, the city marshal usually had four policemen under his direction. These city officers were supported by a county sheriff with a fluctuating number of constables, a federal marshal and his deputy, plus two detectives of the Rocky Mountain Detective Association who set up a branch of their association

⁹²City Council, Minutes, January 31, February 9, 26, 28, May 11, 1877. Laramie County, Commissioners, Minutes of Meetings, March 13, 1877 (Wyoming State Archives and Historical Department, Cheyenne). Sun, March 13, May 12, 1877. Wade, The Urban Frontier . . ., pp. 297-302.

in the city in 1876.⁹³

To prevent violence, City Council again passed an ordinance prohibiting the carrying of any lethal weapon. The ordinance, however, was usually ignored and even by the relatively quiet days of 1878, the Sun reported that "a good many people still adhere to the old-time custom of carrying revolvers on their persons."⁹⁴ But the city remained remarkably free of violence in spite of the "many dangerous characters" who were reported to "make their headquarters in this city and vicinity,"⁹⁵ probably because the local law enforcement agencies were well-established. Moreover, the large transient population appears to have been less dangerous than it was poverty stricken. Most arrests were for vagrancy, not violence. Just as other gold rushes had been partly inspired by hard times--for example, the Colorado rush and the panic of 1857--so the Black Hills rush attracted many recruits because of the panic of 1873 and the following depression. City officials used several methods to cope with this situation. The maximum sentence for vagrancy was \$100 and sixty days in jail. Most of those

⁹³ City Council, Minutes, September 24, November 12, 1875. News, March 20, May 17, 1875. Leader, August 31, 1875; January 25, March 24, 25, 1876. Sun, January 5, April 13, 1877.

⁹⁴ Sun, April 5, July 11, 1878. Ordinance printed in Leader, February 5, 1876.

⁹⁵ Leader, August 31, 1875.

charged had no money so they were to work off their fines by labor on the city streets, or they could be hired out to responsible parties at \$1 a day. These policies were generally regarded as failures. By 1877 officials were forced to use different measures as the city and county jails had more than reached their capacities. City and county officers, facetiously dubbed the "Cheyenne Emigrant's Aid Society" by the Sun, simply began to transport vagrants beyond the city limits in large wagons, with the warning not to return to the city. Thirteen men were reported sent on their way in this manner in one day in February, fourteen in one day in April. This policy was continued during 1878.⁹⁶

Thus, by the summer of 1878, in spite of the gold rush excitement, the Sun could claim with some justification that "Cheyenne is better today in respect to quietness and abstinence from violence than New York, more peaceable than Chicago, better governed than Philadelphia, and more orderly than bloody, riotous Pittsburg."⁹⁷ But if law and order were being maintained on the city's streets, city authorities were less successful in other areas of their jurisdiction. Brothels, gambling houses, and saloons flourished openly despite

⁹⁶ City Council, Minutes, July 2, September 17, 1875. Vagrancy ordinance printed in Leader, February 5, 1876. Sun, February 13, 14, 16, April 13, 29, May 31, 1877; April 28, May 24, 1878. Paul, Mining Frontiers . . . , pp. 41-42.

⁹⁷ July 24, 1878.

ordinances regulating them. These forms of vice or entertainment, depending on the point of view, continued to be tolerated for commercial reasons. The old policy of periodically fining the city's prostitutes was continued; the system was apparently successful enough to be admired by the editor of the Deadwood Times who suggested that Deadwood adopt Cheyenne's method.⁹⁸ An ordinance prohibiting the use of "girl-waiters" was usually ignored as was a mild prohibition of the sale of liquor between the hours of 10 A.M. and 2 P.M. on Sundays,⁹⁹ which made Hayford of the Laramie Sentinel wonder "how on earth the average Shyanner is expected to get along without his benzine for four mortal hours."¹⁰⁰

A variety of factors, including the difficulty of law enforcement on the road to the Hills, led to a decline in Cheyenne's importance as an entry point to the Hills by 1878. By this year, although Cheyenne was not a mining camp, it nevertheless had experienced the same short period of exhilaration followed by a sudden decline which typified

⁹⁸City Council, Minutes, October 29, 1875; May 7, 1878. Leader, February 26, 1875; March 19, 1876. Sun, February 9, 1877; May 8, 1878. Harold E. Briggs, Frontiers of the Northwest, A History of the Upper Missouri Valley (New York, 1940), p. 86.

⁹⁹Leader, September 2, 11, 17, November 5, 1875; March 16, 1876. Sun, March 14, 29, 1876.

¹⁰⁰Laramie Weekly Sentinel, April 16, 1878. City Council, Minutes, June 4, 1875; February 26, March 5, 1878. News, June 5, 18, 28, 1875. Leader, February 26, 1875. Sun, July 9, 22, 1878.

most mining camps. Gone were the throngs of transients from the city streets and gone was their economic and social influence. Unlike most mining camps after the end of a gold rush, Cheyenne could turn to another industry, stockraising, in its search for the economic and social stability that proved to be so elusive for most western boom towns.

PART IV

THE CATTLEMEN'S ERA, 1880-1887

CHAPTER IX

THE CATTLEMEN'S CITY

"Cheyenne is the home of the cattle kings of the northern portion of the West," wrote one of the promoters of the cattle industry in 1885. In his Cattle Raising on the Plains of North America, Baron Walter von Richthofen saved his main accolades for Denver as the pride of the West, but he recognized Cheyenne's special status in the northwestern cattle industry.¹ Without question, the early 1880's were Cheyenne's golden age, during which the city assumed an importance far out of proportion to the size of its population. By 1885 Cheyenne had emerged as the undisputed economic, political, and social center for much of the cattle kingdom. Within the total metropolitan framework, of course, Cheyenne's status was relatively low; nevertheless, in a regional sense, this city provided a remarkable amount of leadership for an essentially rural industry. Unfortunately for the city, the beef bonanza proved to be as transitory as the previous two booms had been. As before, the city was to discover the dangers of dependence upon a single form of economic activity.

Cheyenne's new reliance on the cattle industry placed

¹ (New York, 1885), pp. 101-02. A description of von Richthofen's western career is in Gene Gressley, Bankers and Cattlemen (New York, 1966), pp. 51-52.

it in the same category as many other western communities. These so-called "cowtowns" may be distinguished from each other, however, for they sometimes played considerably different roles within the cattle industry. The Kansas towns, for example, served primarily as market centers by providing a conjunction of Texas herds and eastern buyers. Their prosperity depended on the number of Texas herds they could entice in their direction annually.² Cheyenne, on the other hand, did not depend directly on the cattle trade even though a substantial number of cattle were shipped to Chicago each year from the city's loading pens. Texas herds, driven north, generally went by way of Ogallala, Nebraska, and Cheyenne did not become a rendezvous of the colorful Texas drivers. Nor did Cheyenne ever aspire to compete with Chicago and Kansas City for a part of the meat-packing industry as did St. Joseph, Missouri.³ Cheyenne's cattlemen shipped their cattle live directly to Chicago, risking the vagaries of the national market.

Cheyenne's role differed from that of the communities mentioned but could be compared to Colorado City, Texas, and Miles City, Montana, in that it became the home and head-

² Robert Dykstra, "The Cattle Town Experience: Social Process and the Cattle Trading Centers, 1867-1885" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, State University of Iowa, 1964), pp. 4-5, 92-94.

³ Frank S. Popplewell, "St. Joseph Missouri, as a Center of the Cattle Trade," Missouri Historical Review, XXII (July, 1938), 443-57.

quarters for the stockmen of the region.⁴ Cattlemen whose herds ranged throughout eastern Wyoming, western Nebraska, southwestern Dakota, eastern Montana, and northern Colorado looked to Cheyenne for various services or made their homes in the city. According to the 1880 census, fifty-one stock-growers--men who owned a herd of cattle or sheep--made Cheyenne their home, and this number increased substantially during the next five years. Most of the cowboys--the stockherders, according to the census--lived on the ranches and were seldom seen in the city. Of the twenty-five residents who listed their occupations as stockherder in 1880, most were teenagers living with their families and working for a stockgrower in the vicinity of the city. Thus, terms such as "cowtown" or "cattletown" used in the case of Dodge City or Ogallala are not as definitely applicable to Cheyenne. A more accurate designation would be "cattlemen's town."⁵

⁴In 1887, Colorado City had 34 cattlemen who were worth \$100,000 or more resident in the community of about 5,000. J. Lee Jones and Rupert N. Richardson, "Colorado City, The Cattlemen's Capital," West Texas Historical Association Yearbook, XIX (October, 1943), 36-38. Robert G. Athearn, High Country Empire: The High Plains and Rockies (Lincoln, [1960] 1964), pp. 133-35. Mark H. Brown and W. R. Felton, The Frontier Years: L. A. Huffman, Photographer of the Plains (New York, 1955), pp. 131-65.

⁵These and other population figures for Cheyenne are compiled from U.S., Bureau of the Census, Tenth Census of the United States, 1880, Wyoming Schedules (National Archives, Washington). For examples of literature on the "Cowtowns," see: Stanley Vestal, Dodge City, Queen of Cowtowns (New York, 1952); Norbert R. Mahnken, "Ogallala--Nebraska's Cowboy Capital," Nebraska History, XXXVIII, No.

Unfortunately, census figures are not available for a detailed examination of the population during the height of the cattle boom in the middle 1880's. The 1880 census, however, reveals certain patterns. For example, most of the stockgrowers who made Cheyenne their home in 1880 were native Americans (44 of 51). Of the 7 foreign-born, 3 were Canadians, 2 were Scots, 1 was Irish, and 1 was born in France of American parents. Thus, no stockman came from a non-English speaking background. On the other hand, not a single stockgrower was born in England. The English migration obviously came after 1880, and was probably less significant in Cheyenne than is usually supposed. The places of origin of the native stockmen correspond closely to the pattern established by the city's population generally, for the Middle Atlantic states led followed by the North Central states. Twenty were born in the Middle Atlantic states (New York, 11; Pennsylvania, 8; New Jersey, 1), and 12 in the North Central states (Ohio, 4; Missouri, 4; Indiana, 2; Illinois, 1; Iowa, 1). Eight were New Englanders by birth (Massachusetts, 3; Maine, 2; Vermont, 1; Rhode Island, 1; Connecticut, 1), and 4 were Southerners (Mississippi, 2; Kentucky, 1; Delaware, 1).

Many of these stockgrowers had migrated to other parts of the West before coming to Cheyenne. This generalization is supported to a degree by an examination of the

2 (1947), 85-109; Andy Adams, The Log of a Cowboy (Lincoln, [1903] 1964), has descriptions of Dodge and Ogallala.

birthplaces of their children as listed by the census returns. Of the 22 cattlemen who had children before they arrived in Wyoming, 4 had children born in Missouri, 3 in Colorado, 3 in Illinois, 3 in Texas, 3 in Nebraska, 3 in Iowa, 1 in New York, 1 in Canada, and 1 in Montana. This pattern indicates to a certain extent where Cheyenne's cattlemen received their experience. Without examining each career, it is impossible, of course, to determine how many of these became stockgrowers before they came to Wyoming, but certainly some of them did.⁶

The cattle boom added substantially to Cheyenne's status as a secondary metropolitan center, although Cheyenne by no means challenged Denver's hegemony in the Rocky Mountain region.⁷ As the cattle frontier expanded into northern Wyoming, Cheyenne's commercial hinterland was correspondingly increased. Ranchers from as far as 200 miles north of the city made the long trip for supplies each spring and fall.⁸ The city politically dominated an even larger area through

⁶For more details on the make-up of Cheyenne's total population in 1880, see Chap. x. For a justification of the use of childrens' birthplaces as a method of determining migration patterns, see James C. Malin "Local Historical Studies and Population Problems," The Cultural Approach to History, ed. Caroline F. Ware (New York, 1940), pp. 300-307.

⁷Constance Green, American Cities in the Growth of the Nation (New York, [1957] 1965), p. 142. Edison Henry Cramer, "Denver as the Financial Center of the Eastern Rocky Mountain Region" (unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation), University of Michigan, 1940), pp. 38, 64.

⁸Charles A. Guernsey, Wyoming Cowboy Days (New York, 1936), p. 35. Edgar Beecher Bronson, Reminiscences of a Ranchman (New York, 1908), p. 199.

the Wyoming Stock Growers Association centered in the city. This Association ruled much of the cattle industry of the Northwest. As the home of many of the wealthiest cattlemen, Cheyenne also became something of a social center for the industry in the region; this was especially true after the construction of the luxurious Cheyenne Club by the cattlemen. The city's influence at these various levels cut across state and territorial boundaries as it carved out its own substantial hinterland.

Cheyenne's economic future was closely tied to the growth of this surrounding region. In this case, the city's prosperity was determined by the rise and fall of the cattle industry. In the terms of the economist, stockraising was a "basic" industry as distinguished from the "nonbasic" or "residential" industries such as the retail trade and services. Basic industries particularly can be regarded as town builders because they influence the level of activity and the prosperity of the nonbasic industries.⁹

Between 1870 and 1880 the cattle industry had grown steadily more important around Cheyenne. During the next five years it expanded dramatically. The following figures show the pattern.

⁹For an elaboration of these terms as applied to Wyoming, see Leonard J. Arrington, The Changing Economic Structure of the Mountain West, 1850-1950 (Logan, Utah, 1963), pp. 9-10.

TABLE 2

NUMBER OF CATTLE AND THEIR
ASSESSED VALUE IN
LARAMIE COUNTY*

Year	Number	Assessed Value
1870	941	\$ 35,070
1871	5,361	147,427
1872	8,558	128,370
1873	11,375	227,500
1874	28,659	462,453
1875	34,988	453,193
1876	45,525	506,238
1877	58,101	653,763
1878	77,374	805,718
1879	97,641	1,062,013
1880	113,466	1,379,003
1881	141,630	1,659,056
1882	190,963	2,427,545
1883	244,486	3,637,380
1884	283,194	4,261,445
1885	277,072	4,141,440
1886	233,539	3,930,714
1887	222,792	2,041,210
1888	183,437	2,109,963

*Compiled from the reports of the territorial governors to the Secretary of the Interior, especially the valuable report of Francis E. Warren in U.S., Congress, House, Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 49th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1886, Exec. Doc. 1.

The boom in cattle in Laramie County was part of the general expansion of the cattle frontier into the Northwest during the early 1880's. The gold rush to the Black Hills had helped to open the region north of the North Platte River to exploitation by Cheyenne-based cattlemen. Great herds were driven from Texas, then from Oregon and other

western areas, and finally improved stock was imported from Missouri, Iowa, and other mid-western states. The rapid expansion was made possible by a wave of local and outside investment as the nation recovered from a prolonged depression. Enlarged markets in Britain and the East stimulated production. Moreover, those who had gone into the business in its infancy obviously had made tremendous profits. The result was, as one astute observer remarked, "a minor South Sea bubble"; speculation was rampant by 1882.¹⁰ The Laramie Boomerang described Sixteenth Street in Cheyenne as a "Young Wall Street" where "millions are talked of as lightly as nickels and all kinds of people are dabbling in steers."¹¹

While "everything in the cow business at Cheyenne was at the top notch of seeming prosperity," the handwriting was on the wall as early as 1883.¹² The high profits had led to overcrowding of the ranges in many areas and overproduction depressed prices at the Chicago stockyards.¹³ The winter of 1886-1887 was the last straw for an industry

¹⁰ John Clay, My Life on the Range (Chicago, 1924), p. 35. Mari Sandoz, The Cattlemen, From the Rio Grande Across the Far Marias (New York, 1958), p. 237.

¹¹ Quoted by E. S. Osgood, The Day of the Cattleman (Chicago, [1929] 1957), p. 96.

¹² Clay, My Life on the Range, pp. 53-54.

¹³ G. P. Denny to J. B. Thomas, May 29, 1883, Clarence J. Dunder Collection (Western History Research Center, University of Wyoming, Laramie). Bronson, Reminiscences of a Ranchman, pp. 292-306.

already on the decline. Abnormally cold winds and heavy snow were particularly destructive because overcrowding and lack of water had weakened many herds. Losses in Laramie County averaged only about 5% although some cattlemen reported losses up to 15%.¹⁴ But local cattlemen, like those elsewhere in the West, panicked and sent too many of their weakened cattle to Chicago in a desperate attempt to shore up their shaky companies. Predictably, the glut on the market led to a further drop in prices. The result of careless business methods also became evident. Many herds had been bought on the basis of record books rather than an actual count and herds were often not as large as investors had supposed.¹⁵ A series of bankruptcies shook "the cattle industry of the West . . . to its foundation."¹⁶

The degree to which the rapid rise and then the disastrous decline of this basic industry could affect Cheyenne is evident from the following figures for Laramie County. Cattle made up a small proportion of the total property in this county in 1870 but by 1883 accounted for almost half

¹⁴T. A. Larson, "The Winter of 1886-1887 in Wyoming," Annals of Wyoming, XIV (January, 1942), 15-17.

¹⁵Henry Hay to J. B. Thomas, February 9, 1886; H. M. Rogers to J. B. Thomas, November 16, 1886; A. H. Annett to J. B. Thomas, March 8, 1887, Dunder Collection. U.S., Congress, House, "Annual Report of the Governor, Wyoming Territory," Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 50th Cong., 1st Sess., 1887, Exec. Doc. 1, p. 1028.

¹⁶Clay, My Life on the Range, p. 109.

of the assessed value.

TABLE 3
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ASSESSED VALUE
OF TOTAL PROPERTY AND OF CATTLE
IN LARAMIE COUNTY*

Year	Assessed Value of Total Property	Assessed Value of Cattle	Per Cent
1870	\$ 1,786,465	\$ 35,070	2.0
1875	3,048,135	453,193	14.9
1880	3,813,568	1,379,003	36.2
1883	7,345,055	3,637,380	49.5
1885	8,680,981	4,141,440	47.8
1888	9,589,433	2,109,963	22.0

*Compiled from House, "Annual Report of the Governor, Wyoming Territory," Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1886; and U.S., Congress, House, "Annual Report of the Governor, Wyoming Territory," Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 50th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1888, Exec. Doc. 1.

The new form of property directly influenced the development of the city in several ways. The taxes collected from cattle companies built all sorts of urban improvements. A company such as the Swan Land and Cattle Company, the largest taxpayer in Laramie County next to the Union Pacific Railroad Company, paid \$10,527 in 1885.¹⁷ Most of

¹⁷Laramie County, Treasurer, Assessment Rolls and Tax Lists, 1885 (Wyoming State Archives and Historical Department, Cheyenne). For a strong statement of the positive effects of the big companies on communities, see Granville Stuart, Forty Years on the Frontier, as seen in his Journals and Reminiscences, ed. Paul C. Phillips (Glendale, Calif., [1925] 1957), p. 239.

this tax revenue was spent in Cheyenne; no other center of any consequence existed in the county nor did county officials spend any substantial amounts for roads or other improvements in rural areas. The city was also built up by cattlemen who invested their profits in real estate or commercial enterprises. For example, J. M. Carey, who made his fortune in cattle, invested heavily in local real estate and built the Carey Block, one of the finest business blocks in the city. In 1885 his property in the city was assessed at \$54,250.¹⁸ Territorial officials estimated that \$1,000,000 worth of improvements of this type were made in Cheyenne during 1882 and 1883.¹⁹ The Leader reported that everywhere in the city there was evidence of "life and progress, the streets are broken by ditch diggers, blocked by building materials or crowded by delivery wagons and carriages. On every side may be seen something new from a little cottage to a large business block."²⁰ The revived business within the city was paralleled by increased activity at the Post Office. Officials reported in 1884 that the amount of mail sent from the city had increased 80% over the past three years.²¹

¹⁸ County Treasurer, Assessment Rolls . . . 1885.

¹⁹ U.S., Congress, House, "Annual Report of the Governor, Wyoming Territory," Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 48th Cong., 1st Sess., 1883, Exec. Doc. 1, p. 567.

²⁰ November 17, 1882.

²¹ Sun, April 19, 1884.

The close relationship between the cattle industry and the city meant, however, that if the industry declined the city would suffer. The above figures show the drastic decline in the value of cattle in the county between 1885 and 1888. Late in 1886, before the actual collapse, Warren wrote his brother that "business in the store is very quiet and we are going to have a dull hard winter (Keep this to yourself entirely).". He believed that the entire business community was "suffering from the general depression caused by extremely low prices of stock cattle, beef, and other products." His experience in this frontier boom town led him to conclude that "business in every town goes up and down like the rim of a wheel or, back and forth, like a clock pendulum."²² The rim of the wheel came down with a vengeance in the spring of 1887. The series of bankruptcies, especially that of Alex Swan, "fell like a bombshell in Cheyenne," according to John Clay. "It was utter ruin. Not only the banks made a total loss, but the employees down to the hired girl saw their savings disappear."²³

Even under the best of circumstances, however, stock-raising was not the kind of basic industry which built up large metropolitan centers. Cheyenne's rate of population

²² Warren to E. M. Warren, November 13, 1886, F. E. Warren Letters, Warren Collection (Western History Research Center, University of Wyoming, Laramie).

²³ Clay, My Life on the Range, p. 209.

increase was higher during the years 1880 to 1890 (3,456 to 11,690) than the previous decade (1,450 to 3,456), but this growth rate during the cattle boom was completely eclipsed by a city such as Denver which grew from 4,759 in 1870 to almost 107,000 by 1890. The absence of a large farming population in Cheyenne's hinterland was certainly one of the factors responsible for the slow growth rate. Some of Denver's residents apparently understood the reasons for Cheyenne's dilemma. A member of Denver's Board of Trade warned fellow members of the dire consequences of emphasizing livestock rather than farming by pointing to the example of Wyoming where "the ranges are crowded with cattle, but which was wholly destitute of cities and large, thrifty towns."²⁴

The extent to which the cattle industry affected the city can be partly illustrated by examining the careers of several of the leading cattlemen resident in the city. For most of the 1880's the wealthy cattlemen dominated the economic and political life of the city as well as that of the entire Territory. To a certain extent, almost everyone with capital in the city was a stockgrower, for the business and professional community invested heavily in the industry.

²⁴ Quoted by Stephen J. Leonard, "The Denver Chamber of Commerce and Board of Trade from 1884 to 1900" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Wyoming, 1966), p. 76. In 1890 Wyoming had only 0.62 persons per square mile while Colorado had 3.98. U.S., Bureau of the Census, Compendium of the Eleventh Census: 1890. Part I--Population (Washington, 1892), p. 6.

Within the elite group of big investors two factions sometimes appeared, one led by Alexander Swan and the other by Thomas Sturgis.²⁵ The factionalism, however, was less remarkable than the extraordinary solidarity which greeted any common threat.²⁶

Some of the so-called natives of the city (roughly anyone who had arrived by the early 1870's) had gone into cattle raising in its infancy and had slowly built up huge, valuable herds. Other natives, engaged in pursuits in the city, later invested in cattle when the profits of their neighbors became obvious. Several of the original officials sent to the young Territory in 1869 saw the possibilities of stockraising in the region and pioneered in the industry. Of these, by far the most successful was Joseph M. Carey, who, as a young lawyer in Philadelphia, had been appointed territorial attorney general by President Grant in 1869. Carey began investing in cattle in 1870, forming J. M. Carey and Brother, with Robert Carey as junior partner. His first herd, about 500 Texas longhorns, was located on Horse Creek, about twenty miles north of Cheyenne. He added to his herd by bringing in more Texas as well as Oregon cattle and later upgraded his stock by importing blooded bulls. The herd grew

²⁵Clay, My Life on the Range, p. 66.

²⁶For examples of factionalism in other towns connected with the cattle industry, see Dykstra, "The Cattle Town Experience. . . ," chap. viii.

rapidly, and in 1876 the larger portion was moved to new quarters on the North Platte River in Albany and Carbon Counties. This was one of the earliest attempts to ranch this far north. By 1880 the local press listed Carey's herds, numbering 20,000 cattle, fourth among those owned by Cheyenne's cattlemen. The general growth in value of cattle during these boom years was reflected by the rise in value of Carey's herds. In 1882 he evaluated his immense holdings in cattle, land, and ranching equipment at \$750,000. Two years later he quoted a price of \$1,200,000 to a prospective buyer. Although he did not get this last sum, the figures indicate the general trend of the market and how those who had carefully built up their herds before the boom struck suddenly became rich.²⁷

To a degree exceeded only by Francis E. Warren, Carey was involved in almost every aspect of Cheyenne's development during these years. He was an extremely successful mayor of the city from 1881 to 1885, years in

²⁷ The Carey Letter Books, referred to by Louis Pelzer in The Cattlemen's Frontier (Glendale, Calif., 1936), pp. 160-61, have, unfortunately, been misplaced or destroyed. Some facts about Carey's business career may be gleaned from the following: J. M. Carey, "Politics and People," Cheyenne, c. 1885 (Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley); "Dictation of Posey S. Wilson," Cheyenne, 1885 (Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley); County Treasurer, Assessment Rolls . . . 1885; Sun, May 14, 1878; January 14, 1879; July 9, 1880; July 24, 1881; John K. Rollinson, Wyoming Cattle Trails: History of the Migration of Oregon-Raised Herds to Mid-Western Markets (Caldwell, Idaho, 1948), pp. 191-92.

which tremendous progress was made in providing public utilities and services. He served as the president of the powerful stockgrowers association during its heyday from 1883 to 1888. From 1885 to 1890, he represented the Territory as delegate to Congress. His efforts on behalf of the city, the cattle industry, and the Territory constitute a large portion of Cheyenne's history.

While Carey's career illustrates the prosperity local residents could achieve by carefully expanding their operations, Alexander Swan is an example of the dangers of careless business methods and of overspeculation. A Pennsylvanian by birth, Swan spent fourteen years in Ohio and Iowa in farming and stockraising before coming to Cheyenne in 1873 to organize Swan Brothers and Company together with two brothers and a nephew. Swan soon became the major promoter and speculator among local cattlemen. By 1883 he was a major stockholder in at least nine land and cattle companies in Wyoming, Nebraska, and Iowa. That year he negotiated the biggest deal of his life, selling an interest in three of the companies (involving 120,000 cattle plus some land) to Scottish capitalists for the sum of \$2,588,825. Swan retained about one-twelfth of the stock in the gigantic corporation, known as the Swan Land and Cattle Company, and served as the general manager with an annual salary of \$10,000.²⁸

²⁸"Questionnaire on Alexander Hamilton Swan," Cheyenne,

Swan was a leader among local cattlemen in several ways. He pioneered in attempts to upgrade the quality of his herd. In 1877 he imported purebred hereford bulls from Illinois and in 1883 founded, with two associates, the Wyoming Hereford Association which imported 700 hereford bulls and cows from England. This Association's ranch, six miles east of Cheyenne on Crow Creek, was a lavish spread by western standards with barns and sheds for the cattle's protection and rich pasture land which provided ample hay for winter feeding. Swan also concerned himself with other aspects of the industry, for he was largely responsible for interesting a number of Omaha capitalists in founding the Omaha Union Stockyards in 1883. He served as vice-president of this venture as well as heading a syndicate, the South Omaha Land Company, which bought the land on which South Omaha was built.²⁹ Swan's part in these Omaha ventures is an example of the growing economic power of Cheyenne's cattlemen. In a rela-

c. 1885 (Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley). C. G. Coutant, Notes on Swan (Wyoming State Archives and Historical Department, Cheyenne). Lewis Atherton, The Cattle Kings (Bloomington, 1961), pp. 208-09. Osgood, The Day of the Cattleman, p. 98. Pelzer, The Cattlemen's Frontier, pp. 109-09. Maurice Frink, W. Turrentine Jackson and Agnes Wright Spring, When Grass was King (Boulder, 1956), pp. 166-67, 220. County Treasurer, Assessment Rolls . . . 1885.

²⁹House, "Annual Report of the Governor, Wyoming Territory," Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1883, p. 584. "Questionnaire on A. H. Swan." Coutant, Notes. James W. Savage and John T. Bell, History of the City of Omaha, Nebraska; and South Omaha, by Consul W. Butterfield (New York, 1894), pp. 596-98, 613-15. Sun, May 14, 1878.

tively minor way, perhaps, this represented metropolitan leadership by Cheyenne, an obvious reversal of Cheyenne's usual status in relation to Omaha.

In addition to building his extensive empire, Swan also participated in local government and in the stockmen's association. From 1876 to 1878 he served as the chairman of the Laramie County Board of Commissioners. He headed the Wyoming Stock Growers Association from 1876 to 1881, the formative years when the Association was being transformed from a local to a regional organization, and remained a member of its executive committee until 1887. Although he had little time for social activities, he contributed financially to cultural and religious groups, and his daughter, Louise, was one of the city's social leaders.

At the peak of his success, Swan was described as "one of the most remarkable men in the borderland," by a pioneer historian.³⁰ The tall, gaunt figure, resembling "Uncle Sam," was well-known and admired everywhere in the West. One observer said that in Cheyenne "groups of men sat around him in his office and worshipped at his feet. In Chicago he was courted by bankers, commission men, breeders of fine cattle."³¹ One newcomer to the industry, deciding to "pick the biggest winner and study him at his work,"

³⁰
Coutant, Notes.

³¹
Clay, My Life on the Range, p. 50. Guernsey, Wyoming Cowboy Days, p. 70.

followed Swan around for a month to learn how to judge and buy cattle.³²

But Swan's fall was as spectacular as his rise. With unbounded faith in the future of the industry, he had recklessly speculated and overextended his credit. Much of his buying had been on the basis of a record book count rather than an actual count of the herds. To provide large dividends for the corporation, he had weakened the herds by overstocking his ranges and by selling large proportions of his calf crops. With the dramatic decline in prices in early 1887, his huge speculative empire fell apart and he declared bankruptcy. When the Scottish investors realized what had happened, they dismissed him. He left Cheyenne for Ogden where, according to John Clay who replaced him as manager, he died virtually forgotten in an asylum.³³

Both of the natives who have been described were residents who made stockraising their primary concern. Some of the natives who became involved in the industry were members of the local business community. By far the most important of those who made their fortunes as merchants and then also became stockgrowers was Francis E. Warren. By the early 1880's he had greatly expanded his mercantile business to take advantage of the growing prosperity of the

³² Bronson, Reminiscences of a Ranchman, p. 80.

³³ Clay, My Life on the Range, pp. 49-50. Pelzer, The Cattlemen's Frontier, pp. 143-48.

city's population. The Sun reported that his three delivery wagons could not "keep up with orders that are constantly pouring in."³⁴ While Warren was out of town, a friend wrote him that "your store here looks as if you had some good salesmen about for it seems to contain hardly a whole set of anything in furniture."³⁵ The huge mercantile store burned early in 1884 (the event was given full coverage in most western newspapers including the two major Chicago papers), but that fall a new and grander building (called the Warren Emporium) occupied a full block on Sixteenth Street.³⁶ A reporter for the Washington Post was tremendously impressed with the building and the stock carried in it; with the kind of overstatement that must have gladdened Warren's heart, he wrote that Warren's store carried "the most complete assortment of costly home furnishing goods west of New York."³⁷ In addition to the mercantile business, Warren was involved in a variety of enterprises in the city. He was a major stockholder and vice-president of the First National Bank, a most energetic president of the Electric Light Company, and the owner of the

³⁴ October 16, 1881.

³⁵ William Sturgis to Warren, March 4, 1881, Cheyenne Club Letters, Wyoming Stock Growers Association Collection (Western History Research Center, University of Wyoming, Laramie). The Association is hereafter in this chapter and all succeeding chapters referred to as WSGA.

³⁶ See the clippings collected in Warren Scrapbook, No. 24, Warren Collection.

³⁷ Warren Scrapbook, No. 24.

Cheyenne Carriage Works. He also built two of the most substantial business blocks in the city, the Phoenix and the Atlas.

Like many other successful businessmen in the city, Warren began investing heavily in stockgrowing by the late 1870's. Together with a junior partner, W. B. Miner, he began buying sheep in 1878. In 1886 Warren estimated they owned 70,000 sheep as well as 3,000 cattle and 2,000 horses.³⁸ Warren later bought out his partner, and the firm, one of the largest in the area, became known as the Warren Livestock Company. The capital for Warren's investment, as that of other local stockgrowers, came from several sources. Some of his capital obviously came from profits from his successful enterprises in the city. He had also borrowed "very often, and sometimes largely" from the First National Bank where he was a director and vice-president.³⁹ In addition, he had "used all the money that we could beg, borrow or steal" from other sources.⁴⁰ Some of these sources were eastern capitalists, but Warren relied less on eastern capital than did many local cattlemen. He sold a small amount of stock to one Boston investor and borrowed some money

³⁸ Warren to J. D. Alford, October 19, 1886, Warren Letters.

³⁹ Warren to C. S. Warren, July 24, 1885, Warren Letters.

⁴⁰ Warren to J. D. Alford, October 19, 1886, Warren Letters.

directly from a Massachusetts bank.⁴¹ When the crash of 1887 rocked the industry, Warren was not as adversely affected as were some of Cheyenne's cattlemen because his capital was not tied up exclusively in this one form of enterprise.

Although stockraising was only one of Warren's interests, he was extremely sympathetic to the industry, believing that Cheyenne's prosperity depended on it. This sympathy was particularly evident in Warren's action as a public official on the local territorial level. One of the leading Republicans in Wyoming, he had served as territorial treasurer and president of the territorial Council. He had recently been elected mayor of the city when out-going President Chester A. Arthur appointed him as governor of Wyoming in February, 1885. As governor, Warren energetically enforced legislation beneficial to the cattle industry, and served as one of the industry's main advocates in Washington. Although President Grover Cleveland replaced him with the pro-granger Thomas Moonlight in 1886, Warren was re-appointed governor by President Benjamin Harrison in 1889 and was elected as Wyoming's first state governor in 1890.⁴²

Of those cattlemen who concerned themselves with building up a prosperous and progressive community, only one,

⁴¹ Warren to George H. Hull, July 6, 1885; and Warren to S. W. Seaver, July 11, 1885, Warren Letters.

⁴² He resigned to serve as one of Wyoming's first Senators, a position he was to hold for thirty-seven years.

Thomas Sturgis, could conceivably have been considered as an immigrant. This category, however, might be applied to Sturgis only because he maintained close ties with his influential family in New York and returned there after the crash of 1887. In other respects he was not typical of the immigrants who flocked to Cheyenne after 1880. He began to take part in the westward movement soon after serving in the Civil War by going to Missouri to manage several farms. He came to Cheyenne in 1872 and organized three cattle companies with two partners, W. C. Lane and G. B. Goodell, who later also became residents of the city. Their extensive herds were centered in the Goshen's Hole region between Cheyenne and Fort Laramie, and on the Cheyenne River in northern Wyoming and eastern Dakota. Sturgis and Lane reorganized their holdings in 1883, incorporating the Union Cattle Company which was capitalized at \$3,000,000, most of the capital coming from Boston. Like most cattle corporations in the region, however, this giant enterprise did not weather the disastrous decline of 1887 and went into receivership in 1888.⁴³

During his fifteen-year residence in Cheyenne, Sturgis contributed a great deal to the cattle industry and the community. His first love was the Wyoming Stock Growers

⁴³ Pelzer, The Cattlemen's Frontier, pp. 162-69, has a detailed description of the financial problems of this corporation. Some personal material can be found in Gene Gressley, "The American Cattle Trust: A Study in Protest," Pacific Historical Review, XX (February, 1961), p. 65, n. 25.

Association, which he served as secretary during this entire period. He was, in fact, "by common consent . . . the leading figure and guiding spirit of the Association."⁴⁴ The degree to which this was generally accepted was indicated by a lavish testimonial held for him at the Opera House in 1884. About 350 invited guests attended the affair, many of them in full dress, and presented him with gifts valued at over \$5,000. Speeches by a number of cattlemen--Carey, Warren, and others--all attested to the belief that the success of the Association was more largely due to Sturgis than to any other individual.⁴⁵

In addition to his work within the cattlemen's association, Sturgis also concerned himself with community projects as will be seen in the next chapter. Together with Warren, he was the driving force behind the introduction of electric lights to the city, serving as the corporation's secretary; with Carey he organized the Cheyenne Opera House Company of which he became the vice-president. He was also involved in a host of other local projects such as the Cheyenne and Northern Railroad. His return East after the debacle of 1887 was undoubtedly a great loss to the city.

For a short period during the height of the cattle

⁴⁴ Thomas B. Adams in Harry Crane (ed.), Letters from Old Friends and Members of the Wyoming Stock Growers Association (Cheyenne, 1923), p. 8. Clay, My Life on the Range, pp. 66-67, 245.

⁴⁵ Sun, October 16, 1884. Leader, October 16, 1884.

boom, the city was temporarily the home for a number of cattlemen from Europe and the East. Most of them represented wealthy families and provided a sense of glamour and social sophistication to the frontier community. Their foreign embassy in Cheyenne was the Cheyenne Club, a luxurious haven to make their stay as palatable as possible. Except for one or two individuals, these immigrants were not particularly concerned with local affairs and contributed little or nothing to the city's welfare. Their departure in 1887 after the cattle bubble burst was actually no great loss to the city. John Clay, himself from Scotland, believed that the "native" cattlemen were the "backbone of the business," and he had little regard for most of the immigrants.

The men who came from the other side of the Atlantic were young, mostly worthless in a business way, many of them dissolute, and when you rounded them up a very moderate lot. Very few of them have survived the ordeal of hard winters. . . . Then there was a great influx of Harvard and Yale men who were more adaptable, but in the end not much more successful.⁴⁶

Representative of the eastern American immigrant was a young New Yorker, Richard Trimble, whose illuminating letters reveal a likeable and sincere, but bewildered novice in the cattle business. Trimble graduated from Harvard in 1880, made the grand tour around the world, worked for a few months in New York, and in the fall of 1882 made the trip from New York to San Francisco around the Horn. On his way back to

⁴⁶Clay, My Life on the Range, p. 74.

New York by rail, he was met at Cheyenne by former Harvard friends, Hubert Teschemacher and Fred deBillier. Their enthusiasm for the cattle industry persuaded him to stay and join their operations. The prospects looked good, for the profits of the Teschemacher and deBillier Cattle Company had been high for the past three years. Trimble invested \$15,000, borrowed from his banker father at 9%, and became one of the three managers of the reincorporated company, now capitalized at \$750,000. Among other stockholders were a number of Harvard classmates as well as Theodore Roosevelt.⁴⁷

Trimble quickly set out to learn the cattle business. He discovered that it consisted of "the theory and the practise, one of which is learned better in Cheyenne where cattle men congregate and the other on a ranch."⁴⁸ While in Cheyenne after the spring or fall roundups, he shared a house with deBillier, Teschemacher, and the latter's brother, Arthur. The days were pleasantly spent. Breakfast at family friends', the Sturgises, followed by tennis at the Tennis Club. Lunch at the Cheyenne Club would be accompanied by discussions of

⁴⁷ Trimble to family, August 27, 1882, Richard Trimble Collection (Western History Research Center, University of Wyoming, Laramie). Some of Trimble's letters were edited by Gene Gressley, "Harvard Man Out West: The Letters of Richard Trimble, 1882-1887," Montana, The Magazine of Western History, X (January, 1960), 14-23. "Dictation of Hubert E. Teschemacher," Cheyenne, c. 1885 (Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley).

⁴⁸ Trimble to his mother, February 22, 1883, Trimble Collection.

the prospects of the cattle industry. The latest eastern newspapers were available, enabling him to keep track of events at home.⁴⁹

The balmy, prosperous days of 1882, however, quickly disappeared, for by 1884 profits from their company were rapidly declining. His father tried to cheer up the discouraged young man by pointing out that "scarcely any business is making money now," but advised him to "try to find out if possible just what the reasons are why a business which seemed to be generally profitable, as was in Teschemacher's case, should have changed as seriously in its results in only two or three years."⁵⁰ Part of the problem lay in the loose management of the company with its three managers, but by 1885 and 1886 the company was simply caught by the general decline in cattle prices. After the crash in 1887, Trimble returned to New York where he eventually became a leader in financial circles.⁵¹

A brief summary of the careers of some individual

⁴⁹Trimble to his mother, June 7, 1885, March 6, 1887, Trimble Collection.

⁵⁰Merritt Trimble to Trimble, May 8, 1886, Trimble Collection.

⁵¹He served as secretary-treasurer of the United States Steel Corporation from its inception in 1901 to his retirement in 1922. Trimble to Merritt Trimble, September 14, 1886; Merritt Trimble to Trimble, May 21, 1887, Trimble Collection. Gressley, Montana, The Magazine . . ., X, 14-17. Gene Gressley, "Teschemacher and deBillier Cattle Company: A Study of Eastern Capital on the Frontier," Business History Review, XXXII, No. 2 (1959), 121-37.

cattlemen based in Cheyenne gives an indication of the extent to which the city was dominated by these cattlemen and also the degree to which the city, through them, dominated the range cattle industry of the region. A classic metropolitan system was developed, a complex mosaic made up of Cheyenne as a secondary metropolitan center dominating the range country hinterland and in turn dependent on the metropolitan centers of Chicago, Boston, and New York. In this era, Cheyenne's position depended on the prices paid at the Chicago stockyards and on the investments by Boston and New York capitalists, but this little plains city was also a metropolitan center in its own right, coordinating the functions of administrative, political, and economic control over much of the northwestern cattle industry.⁵²

A central feature of this local hegemony was the Wyoming Stock Growers Association. This Association, which administered the regional cattle industry with an iron hand, represented cattlemen in a large number of states and territories, and a large proportion of the membership considered Cheyenne as home. In 1882 the Association listed the brands of 161 cattle companies owned by members. Of these, 64 (40%) listed Cheyenne as their post office address. Another 60 listed 24 other places in Wyoming, Fort Fetterman having the

⁵² For a recent discussion of the concept of metropolitanism, see Charles N. Glaab and A. Theodore Brown, A History of Urban America (New York, 1967), pp. 272-73.

most with 10, and Laramie following with 8. There were 8 places in Nebraska, 4 in Colorado, 6 in Dakota, and 1 in Iowa listed as the headquarters of the companies owned by members.⁵³ Thus, while president of the Association and mayor of the city in 1884, Joseph M. Carey could, with some justification, claim that the Association "brought more capital to this city than any other or all the associations organized in the territory" because it had "caused stockmen to become actual residents of Cheyenne."⁵⁴

Cheyenne emerged as the cattlemen's administrative headquarters for several reasons. As the Territory's largest city it could provide better facilities than could smaller communities such as Laramie and Rawlins. As the territorial capital it was a natural gathering place for cattlemen concerned with legislation pertaining to the welfare of the industry. More significant, perhaps, was the pattern of settlement in the Territory and the growth of the cattle industry in relation to this pattern. Cities, basically county seats located along the Union Pacific, dominated the sparsely populated territory to their north. During the formative period of the cattle industry in the 1870's, over 50% of all cattle in Wyoming were located in Laramie County.⁵⁵ Cheyenne, thus,

⁵³Compiled from WSGA, Cattle Brands Owned by Members of the Wyoming Stock Growers Association (Chicago, 1882).

⁵⁴Speech reported by the Sun, November 4, 1884.

⁵⁵See, for example, the figures compiled in House,

emerged naturally as the city most involved with the industry.

Cheyenne also became the cattlemen's regional center because several Cheyenne-based cattlemen directed the formation of the original county cattlemen's association and continued to control it when it became much broader in membership. At the annual meeting of the Laramie County Stock Growers Association in 1879, the scope of the organization was broadened and the name changed to the Wyoming Stock Growers Association. Alex Swan continued as president, but of particular significance was the establishment of a three-man executive committee with a provision that all be residents of Cheyenne. Carey, Sturgis, and Erasmus Nagle were elected to this committee.⁵⁶ By 1881 the Association accepted members from other states and territories, and the executive committee was enlarged with the following apportionment: Laramie County, Wyoming, 5; Albany County, Wyoming, 2; Cheyenne County, Nebraska, 2; and Sioux County, Nebraska, 2.⁵⁷

But Laramie County's members, all residents of Cheyenne (Carey, Sturgis, Swan, Davis, Slaughter), continued to run the Association. Even at the height of the Association's expansion in 1884 when Laramie County's proportional represent-

"Annual Report of the Governor, Wyoming Territory," Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1886, p. 1043.

⁵⁶ Minute Book of the Laramie County Stock Growers Association, March 29, 1879, WSGA Collection.

⁵⁷ WSGA Minute Book (actually a part of the same volume as in n.56), April 4, May 2, 1881, WSGA Collection.

tation greatly decreased to only three out of twenty-three, as shown in Table 4, Carey and especially Sturgis continued to be the real powers in the organization.

TABLE 4

DISTRIBUTION OF WYOMING STOCK
GROWERS ASSOCIATION
EXECUTIVE IN 1884*

Laramie Co., Wyo.	3
Albany Co., Wyo.	3
Carbon Co., Wyo.	2
Uinta Co., Wyo.	2
Johnson Co., Wyo.	2
Sweetwater Co., Wyo.	1
Fremont Co., Wyo.	1
Crook Co., Neb.	1
Cheyenne Co., Neb.	2
Sioux Co., Neb.	2
Southern Neb.	1
Eastern Neb.	1
Dakota Terr.	1
Montana Terr.	1

TOTAL: 23

*WSGA, By-Laws and Report of the Wyoming Stock Growers Association, 1884 (Cheyenne, 1884), pp. 2-3.

Cheyenne's status as an administrative center increased as the Association expanded to include the new areas. Local cattlemen delegated authority to solve many common problems to this executive committee, which met at least once a year in Cheyenne. This committee lobbied in the territorial legislature for laws beneficial to the Association and the industry, planned roundups, and appointed and supervised cattle inspectors. During the rest of the year, the administration of the Association was capably handled by Sturgis, and

decisions on policy were made by Carey and Sturgis jointly.

At the height of the Association's power, during the years 1885 and 1886, it had 400 members; 267 from Wyoming and the others from 19 different states. According to Sturgis, members represented \$100,000,000 in cattle and land.⁵⁸ A spirit of optimism and success pervaded the annual meetings of the membership in Cheyenne. Cattlemen from all over the Northwest were joined by railroad and territorial officials, Texans with herds to sell, and capitalists considering investment in this bonanza industry. Cheyenne's hotels, saloons, and other businesses did a booming business during the week of the meetings.⁵⁹

The Association's political power was virtually unchallenged in the Territory in comparison to that, for example, of a similar association in Montana where mining and agricultural groups vied for power with the cattlemen on equal terms.⁶⁰ The Association's political power was not based on members making up a majority of the territorial

⁵⁸ Annual Report of Secretary Thomas Sturgis, April, 1885," WSGA Minute Book, no page Nos. WSGA, "Report of the Wyoming Stock Growers Association, 1886," List of Members, By-Laws, and Reports of the Wyoming Stock Growers Association, and the Laws of Wyoming for the Protection of Stockgrowers, as Amended by the Ninth Assembly (Cheyenne, 1886), pp. 5-20.

⁵⁹ Northwestern Live Stock Journal (Cheyenne), April 10, 1885. Sun, April 10, 1884. Clay, My Life on the Range, pp. 116-17. J. B. Thomas, in Crane, Letters from Old Friends . . ., pp. 6-7.

⁶⁰ Osgood, The Day of the Cattleman, p. 125.

legislature, for Association members were never in the majority in either the House or the Council.⁶¹ Bills pertaining to the cattle industry were often approved by members of the legislature, however, because, as one member, a Cheyenne merchant, put it, the members "knew what laws were good for stockmen were good for the merchant."⁶² Bills drawn up by the executive committee of the Association would be introduced in the legislature by those members of the executive committee who also happened to be members of the legislature. These individuals were often the most respected and capable members of the legislature and were able to convince their legislative colleagues that these bills were for the general community's welfare.⁶³

Some of the laws passed by the legislature gave the Association, in effect, complete control over all aspects of the cattle industry in the Territory. It became almost impossible to operate outside the Association; newcomers, small cattlemen, and farmers tended to have something less than equal rights.⁶⁴ Although the Association repeatedly denied

⁶¹ See the figures compiled by Horace W. Hewlitt, "Territorial Wyoming and the Cattle Industry" (unpublished Master's thesis, Yale University, 1941), p. 217.

⁶² Nute Craig, Thrills, 1861-1887 (Oakland, 1911), pp. 38-39.

⁶³ W. Turrentine Jackson, "The Wyoming Stock Growers Association: Political Power in Wyoming Territory, 1873-1890," MVHR, XXXIII (March, 1947), 573-77.

⁶⁴ Wyoming Territory, Session Laws of the Eighth

charges that "we obstruct and prevent by violence or intimidation the settlement of these lands by the farmer,"⁶⁵ most individual cattlemen did everything in their power to keep Wyoming's soil from being broken by the farmer's plow.⁶⁶

Cheyenne's commercial community seemed to grasp only slowly the economic implications of this situation. Warren, in an interview with the Cleveland Leader and Herald soon after being appointed territorial governor in 1885, admitted that immigration to Wyoming was very light if compared to Dakota. The reason seemed to be that cattle raising "requires more capital than it takes to purchase farms." The results, he believed, were far from detrimental: "I am told that Cheyenne is the wealthiest city in the country, in proportion to the number of its inhabitants."⁶⁷

During these happy days of prosperity, the community in general apparently accepted the leadership of the cattlemen without question, believing the cattle industry to be

Legislative Assembly, 1884 (Cheyenne, 1884), pp. 148-52. Jackson, MVHR, XXXIII, 573-77. J. B. Thomas and Hiram B. Kelly, in Crane, Letters from Old Friends . . . , pp. 5, 21. Osgood, The Day of the Cattleman, pp. 148-58. T. A. Larson, History of Wyoming (Lincoln, 1965), pp. 187-90.

⁶⁵Proceedings of the Annual Meeting, April 7, 1884, WSGA Collection.

⁶⁶U.S., Congress, House, Report of the House Committee on Public Lands on the Unlawful Occupancy of the Public Lands, Report No. 1325, 48th Cong., 1st Sess., 1884, pp. 4-6.

⁶⁷Cleveland Leader and Herald, May 15, 1885, clipping in Warren Scrapbook, No. 24.

indispensable to the city. The local press certainly helped maintain such a view. For example, the city's most influential newspaperman, E. A. Slack, commented editorially: "Professional men, merchants, mechanics and in short all classes would share and be almost equal partakers in any misfortune that might come upon the cattle interest."⁶⁸ In fact, the city's newspapers were little more than mouthpieces for the wealthy cattlemen, especially two new papers which entered the scene during the boom period to compete with the Sun and the Leader. The Cheyenne Daily Tribune, which began publication in 1884, was backed financially by Warren which might account for its undisguised admiration of his many achievements. A weekly, the Northwestern Live Stock Journal, appeared in 1883, and was devoted exclusively to the interests of the cattle industry. The editor and publisher, Asa Shinn Mercer, came to Cheyenne with a wealth of frontier newspaper experience, having published papers in Oregon and Texas. While the Journal was Mercer's private venture, it became a semi-official organ of the Stock Growers Association, publishing in detail the proceedings of the annual meetings and the Association's official notices. As might be expected, Mercer advocated swift and violent action against opponents of Cheyenne's cattlemen.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ Sun, January 26, 1884.

⁶⁹ W. E. Chaplin, "Some of the Early Newspapers of

But the honeymoon between the cattlemen and the city's press began to end in 1886. A prominent member of the Association, Hubert Teschemacher, introduced a bill into the Ninth Legislative Assembly in an attempt to divert liquor and gambling taxes in Cheyenne (amounting to about \$18,000 a year) to the Laramie County treasury. The Leader and the Sun immediately interpreted the move as an attempt to subsidize the cattlemen, for the county had undertaken the expensive task of providing cattle inspectors, veterinarians, and other benefits primarily for the stockgrower. The Leader believed that the bill "inaugurates a fight between the stockgrowers and the city and its taxpayers."⁷⁰ Slack of the Sun, in a lead editorial, blasted Teschemacher's proposal and argued that the time had passed when the merchant and the mechanic should be taxed for the benefit of the stockgrowers, some of whom would "drive if possible every other industry out of Wyoming but the raising of cattle."⁷¹

The increasingly arrogant attitude of the Association was quickly evident in the reaction to the newspaper articles. The Association's executive committee resolved that Slack "be requested to appear before the Executive Com. at once." Members

Wyoming," Wyoming Historical Society Miscellanies (Laramie, 1919), pp. 7-24. Elizabeth Keen, "Wyoming's Frontier Newspapers," Annals of Wyoming, XXXIII (October, 1961), 144-45. Larson, History of Wyoming, pp. 270-71.

⁷⁰ January 23, 1886.

⁷¹ January 24, 1886.

were also instructed to see the editor of the Leader "in regard to the policy of that journal towards the Association."⁷² Slack simply ignored the ridiculous summons. Committee members who went to his office failed to intimidate him as his editorial the following day continued his earlier line. Perhaps because of the generally unfavorable reaction in the community to the proposed legislation, leading members of the Association in Cheyenne repudiated Teschemacher's bill, which eventually failed in the legislature.⁷³ While the Sun and the Leader were able to defy the Association, Mercer was less fortunate. The tactics he had advocated the cattlemen use were turned against him when he condemned the powerful elite after their notorious invasion of Johnson County in 1892. Regarded as a traitor, he was literally forced out of Cheyenne through questionable legal action and by the complete loss of advertisers and subscribers.⁷⁴

With the sudden collapse of the cattle industry generally in 1887, the Association's membership dropped sharply and its financial position was greatly weakened.⁷⁵ The Asso-

⁷² Minute Book of the Executive Committee, January 25, 1886, WSGA Collection.

⁷³ Sun, January 26, 1886.

⁷⁴ William H. Kittrell, "Foreward," to A. S. Mercer, The Banditti of the Plains, or the Cattleman's Invasion of Wyoming in 1892 (Norman, [1894] 1954). Keen, Annals of Wyoming, XXXIV (October, 1962), 76-79. Larson, History of Wyoming, pp. 282-83.

⁷⁵ Proceedings of the Annual Meeting, 1887, 188, WSGA

ciation also came upon increasing difficulty in getting alleged rustlers convicted in the local courts. Thomas B. Adams, a new secretary elected in 1888, complained that juries and the community at large,

influenced largely by expressions from the bench, have been prejudiced against the detective work of the Association. . . . The enemies of the Association foreseeing the financial embarrassment under which it was likely to suffer, have taken advantage of the situation, and through the press and in other ways have attacked our organization.⁷⁶

The Association received a further blow with the appointment of a governor openly antagonistic to their interests in 1886. Thomas Moonlight believed that local cattlemen were responsible for the slow growth of agricultural settlement in the northern part of the Territory. His views reflected a general trend in the public's thinking about the value of depending exclusively on the cattle interests. In his report to the Secretary of the Interior in 1887, Moonlight described the community's new point of view:

While the cattle business was booming business men and merchants supposed all was well, and that sales of goods would continue on to the scores of employees on the ranches, but they now begin to understand that fifty families and fifty ranches, occupying the

Collection. Thomas B. Adams to F. M. Canton, January 5, 1888, Correspondence of the Secretary, WSGA Collection. For a good discussion of the declining Association, see W. Turrentine Jackson, "The Wyoming Stock Growers Association: Its Years of Temporary Decline, 1886-1890," Agricultural History, XXII (October, 1948), 160-70.

⁷⁶ Thomas B. Adams to F. M. Canton, January 3, 1888, Correspondence of the Secretary, WSGA.

same ground covered by one ranch and fifteen men, would afford them an enlarged market and assure them of an increase in business.⁷⁷

Some of Cheyenne's leading cattlemen, however, were not completely oblivious to the fact that the community's prosperity depended on the future growth of an agricultural hinterland. Carey and several other residents who owned stock (ex-Governor J. W. Hoyt, Warren, M. E. Post, Andrew Gilchrist, W. C. Irvine, Horace Plunkett, and Thomas Sturgis) organized a corporation, the Wyoming Development Company, in an attempt to set up a major irrigation project about sixty miles northwest of Cheyenne. Although this attempt was partially successful and resulted in the community of Wheatland, it proved that irrigation was a painfully slow and costly venture.⁷⁸ It also proved that aridity had as much to do with the slow introduction of agriculture as had the monopoly of the cattlemen.

During the years that Cheyenne served as the administrative headquarters for the regional cattle industry, the city's position as territorial capital was being consolidated. The location of the capital in Cheyenne had become a

⁷⁷ House, "Annual Report of the Governor, Wyoming Territory," Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1887, p. 1021.

⁷⁸ Frederick T. Carnes, "The Wyoming Development Company" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Colorado, 1953), pp. 17-19, 46, 92. John Wesley Hoyt, "Autobiography" (Wyoming State Archives and Historical Department, Cheyenne), pp. 331-32. (Typescript.) Sun, November 4, 1884. Bronson, Reminiscences of a Ranchman, pp. 295-96.

subject of controversy as early as 1869. Several western communities--Laramie, Rawlins, and Evanston--attempted to become the capital on the grounds that they were more centrally located in the territory. The various western schemes failed during the 1870's even though Laramie County's representatives in the territorial legislature (all from Cheyenne⁷⁹) made up less than one-quarter of the total representation. The western towns usually were unable to unite their efforts. When they did, some desperate political manipulations by Cheyenne's representatives were necessary. On at least two occasions, Cheyenne's representatives absented themselves from the Council to prevent a quorum and, thus, nullified removal bills which had passed the House.⁸⁰

During the 1880's, however, the increased economic

⁷⁹The idea that Cheyenne was Laramie County still had validity during the late 1870's and early 1880's. The pattern of Laramie County politics was graphically described by Charles Guernsey, who lived on a ranch 200 miles north of Cheyenne:

In '84 (having joined the Cheyenne Club a couple of years before and become acquainted more or less with the town people), "the powers that be" put me on the Republican ticket for election as a member of the lower house in the territorial legislature . . . it being the first time either party had nominated anyone for office except a Cheyenneite.
(Wyoming Cowboy Days, pp. 37-38).

⁸⁰Leader, September 7, 1869; November 21, December 12, 1871; October 28, 1878. Laramie Weekly Sentinel, July 19, 1875. J. H. Triggs, History of Cheyenne and Northern Wyoming, Embracing the Gold Fields of the Black Hills, Powder River and Big Horn Countries (Omaha, 1876), p. 27. Larson, History of Wyoming, p. 127.

and political power of the cattle interests made Cheyenne's position as capital more secure. Another removal bill introduced by Laramie in 1882 was greeted nonchalantly by the Sun; after all, "no legislative session would be complete without an attempt of this kind."⁸¹ Western residents of the Territory were infuriated by what they felt was the capital city's arrogance. J. H. Hayford of the Laramie Sentinel charged that it was "the fashion and practise for Cheyenne to ridicule any place or any part of the Territory outside its own limits (except when it wants the western people to help it hold the Capitol)."⁸² Warren was usually singled out as the chief architect of the attitude that "Cheyenne is Wyoming." Hayford claimed that Warren had "always engineered the schemes by which Cheyenne has played the hog with, and lorded it over, the rest of the Territory."⁸³

In spite of such opposition, Cheyenne's position as capital was made more permanent when Warren was governor by the legislature's decision in 1886 to construct a \$150,000 Capitol building in the city. Cheyenne's two main rivals, Laramie and Evanston, did not come away from this legislative pork barrel with empty hands, however: Laramie received the University of Wyoming, to be constructed at a cost of

⁸¹ Sun, February 17, 1882.

⁸² Laramie Weekly Sentinel, May 31, 1875.

⁸³ Quoted by the Sun, March 9, 1889.

\$50,000; and Evanston received an insane asylum at a cost of \$30,000.⁸⁴ The new Capitol, with the familiar design of dozens of Capitols in the country, was magnificent by Wyoming standards and added substantial weight to Cheyenne's metropolitan aspirations. The completed sandstone structure symbolized the city's political hegemony in the Territory, as well as the close association between the city's cattlemen and the territorial legislature.

Cheyenne's position as administrative and political headquarters of the regional cattle industry was paralleled by the development of the city into something of a financial center for local cattlemen. Although much of the cattle industry's rapid expansion was financed by the incorporation of companies and the sale of shares, or direct loans from Chicago or eastern bankers, the little local banks played a significant role. Local bankers were invariably also cattlemen. A. R. Converse, the founder and president of the First National Bank, invested heavily in cattle after selling his part of the mercantile business to F. E. Warren. T. A. Kent, M. E. Post, and N. R. Davis all headed banks and owned large herds. J. M. Carey, Thomas Sturgis, and Henry Hay, a merchant

⁸⁴Larson, History of Wyoming, pp. 145-46. Descriptions of the Capitol and the history of its construction can be found in: Cheyenne, Wyoming: Illustrated Report of the Cheyenne Board of Trade, comp. Robert C. Morris (Cheyenne, 1888), p. 15; and Marie H. Erwin, Wyoming Historical Blue Book, A Legal and Political History of Wyoming, 1868-1943 (Denver, 1946), pp. 1365-69.

and cattleman, were the founders of the Stock Growers National Bank. Because of the close relationship between the banks and the cattle industry, the banks were particularly subject to the vicissitudes of the industry. The results were enormous profits during the boom days in the early 1880's but virtual destruction when the cattle industry declined in 1887.

Two banks dominated the local banking scene: the First National and the Stock Growers. Each served one of the two major factions among the city's prominent cattlemen, for Swan and his admirers banked at the First National and another group looked to Sturgis at the Stock Growers.⁸⁵ Both banks showed a remarkable rate of profit during the early 1880's. The capital stock of the First National, under the capable guidance of President Converse and Vice-President Warren, was increased from \$100,000 in 1879 to \$200,000 in 1883. The bank's prosperity was evident by its new quarters in 1882. The Leader reported that the interior, "finished in polished cherry," gave "the impression of quiet unostentatious elegance."⁸⁶ During a seven-year period at the height of the cattle boom (1878-1883), the bank paid a total of 253 1/3% in cash dividends. Warren proudly asked a friend: "Do you know of any bank that has made money faster, or made more money, or has better prospects for making money, than the

⁸⁵

Clay, My Life on the Range, p. 66.

⁸⁶

December 5, 1882.

1st National?"⁸⁷ After the death of Converse in 1885, however, Warren sold his stock in the bank (at a high profit) because of personal differences with Mrs. Converse.⁸⁸

Like the First National, the Stock Growers Bank prospered during the early 1880's. This bank was established late in 1881 with Carey as president, Sturgis as vice-president, and Henry Hay as cashier, but Carey resigned as president in 1883 and was replaced by Sturgis. At its inception the bank's paid-up capital was \$200,000; by 1886 this had been increased to \$400,000.⁸⁹

Unfortunately for these local banks, they shared not only the cattle industry's prosperity but also its disastrous decline. Most of the banks had extended loans on inadequate security during the promising early 1880's. Alex Swan, for example, had borrowed heavily from the First National, and when his empire fell, he owed the bank \$80,000 without security.⁹⁰ Because of its basic stability, the First National was able to weather this and other bankruptcies, but some local banks were not so successful. Morton E. Post was forced

⁸⁷ Warren to George H. Hull, Jr., July 6, 1885, Warren Letters.

⁸⁸ Warren to C. S. Warren, July 24, 1885, Warren Letters.

⁸⁹ Henry G. Hay to J. B. Thomas, March 4, 1884; February 9, 1886, Dunder Collection. Sun, December 13, 1881; April 19, July 14, 1882. Stock Growers National Bank, The Story of a Successful Bank (Cheyenne, 1906), no page Nos.

⁹⁰ Clay, My Life on the Range, p. 209.

to close his doors in January, 1887, because of the large number of unsecured loans which could not be repaid. Four months later, visiting his Deadwood branch, Post discovered that the situation there was "much the same as in Cheyenne. We just trusted these people too far." In words that might well have been used by any western banker, he plaintively wrote his wife: "What or how though does one go about foreclosing an entire community?"⁹¹ The financial difficulties of their customers put the banks into dire straits; a further blow was the drying-up of eastern capital after 1887. An example is a letter from a Boston financier in 1888 regarding a loan to the Stock Growers Bank:

Mr. Hay had a note mature here a few days ago & we found it impossible to place one in renewal except in one or two places where both he & the bank were known. There would not anybody listen a moment to any statement when we mentioned Cheyenne.⁹²

Cheyenne's significant position in relation to the stockraising industry of the Northwest was based to a certain extent on the community's role as a banking center as well as on the economic power of the local cattlemen and the administrative control exercised by the Wyoming Stock Growers Association. The city's position, however, also

⁹¹ M. E. Post to Amelia Post, May 23, 1887, M. E. Post Collection (Western History Research Center, University of Wyoming, Laramie).

⁹² Blake Bros. and Company to J. B. Thomas, April 18, 1888, Dunder Collection.

rested on its role as a social center. This was provided by the elegant Cheyenne Club, the rendezvous of the industry's elite. The Club was organized in 1881 by a group of young cattlemen, most of them very recently from the East, who wished to isolate themselves as much as possible from the crudity of the frontier community. Their club house was built in 1881 and quickly became the economic and political focal point for the cattlemen from all over the West. As John Clay pointed out, "It became really the business center also . . . in the well furnished cafe many a bottle of 'Phiz' paved the way for a big deal."⁹³ The economic and social significance of the Club for the city was well described in the 1885 City Directory:

Many cattlemen who otherwise would reside in other Wyoming towns, realizing that the club house is the acknowledged center of the cattle trade, are induced to make Cheyenne their base of operations.⁹⁴

The cattle boom of the early 1880's intensified the city's earlier preoccupation with a northern hinterland. For years residents had dreamed of a railroad which would tap this potentially rich region, but no action had been taken. The necessary capital simply was not available in a small frontier community, and the Union Pacific appeared uninterested in constructing branch lines to build up local

⁹³ Clay, My Life on the Range, p. 74.

⁹⁴ Cheyenne City Directory, Residence and Business, 1884-1885, comp. A. R. Johnson (Cheyenne, 1885), p. 15.

traffic. Although county residents voted overwhelmingly (eight to one) in 1880 to grant \$400,000 to the Union Pacific to build the Wyoming, Montana and Pacific Railroad, two deadlines passed in 1883 without company action.⁹⁵

As a result of Union Pacific inactivity, two local groups organized railroad companies; as in other frontier communities like Kansas City, these companies were not organized to build a railroad, but were essentially promotional.⁹⁶ They hoped to get a substantial bond issue from local voters which might induce some large outside corporation to build the railroad. The rival groups were made up of the two factions within the local cattlemen's circle. Alex Swan and F. E. Warren headed the Cheyenne, Black Hills and Montana Railroad Company, and Thomas Sturgis led a group organizing the Cheyenne and Northern Railroad Company. Swan and his group planned to take advantage of legislative authorization for a \$300,000 county bond issue to any group which constructed a northern road. Sturgis and his group, however, were able to get a promise of \$400,000, enabling

⁹⁵ Wyoming Territory, Session Laws of the Seventh Legislative Assembly, 1882 (Cheyenne, 1882), pp. 25-28. Sun, February 15, 1880; February 8, 9, 11, 15, 17, 1882. Gov. J. W. Hoyt to Sidney Dillon, President of the Union Pacific, February 5, 1880, U.S., Department of the Interior, Territorial Papers, Wyoming Series, 1880 (National Archives, Washington). Dillon to Hoyt, August 17, 1880, reprinted in Sun, August 22, 1880.

⁹⁶ Charles N. Glaab, Kansas City and the Railroads: Community Policy in the Growth of a Regional Metropolis (Madison, 1962), p. 42.

them to negotiate a contract with the Union Pacific which agreed to construct and equip the road for a majority of stock in the Cheyenne and Northern.⁹⁷ The Union Pacific's change of heart about a northern branch reflected that corporation's new interest in local freight traffic, becoming substantial because of the cattle shipments to Chicago.

The long-awaited northern railroad was started during the summer and fall of 1886. An immediate result was a minor real estate boom which somewhat lessened the effect of the cattle depression. Henry Hay told of one customer who had bought a house for \$1,200 and sold it a week later for \$2,200. He concluded that "all these things coming at this time are very comforting and lead one to hope that the Lord is still on our side & doesn't mean to harm a place that has done him as much credit as Cheyenne has."⁹⁸

In spite of the northern railroad, however, Cheyenne's northern kingdom was soon reduced to a mere princi-

⁹⁷ Articles of incorporation of the Cheyenne, Black Hills and Montana Railroad Company can be found in a volume with the title of the railroad, included as Vol. 151 of the Warren Collection in the Western History Research Center, University of Wyoming, Laramie. Henry Hay to J. B. Thomas, March 5, 1886, Dunder Collection. Laramie County, Commissioners, Minutes of Meetings, November 15, 1887; August 27, 1888 (Wyoming State Archives and Historical Department, Cheyenne). Wyoming Territory, Session Laws of the Ninth Legislative Assembly, 1888 (Cheyenne, 1888), pp. 64-69.

⁹⁸ Hay to J. B. Thomas, February 9, 1886, Dunder Collection. Richard Trimble to his mother, May 1, 1887, Trimble Collection. F. E. Warren to E. M. Warren, November 13, 1886, Warren Letters.

pality. Another railroad, the Wyoming Central, later part of the Chicago and Northwestern system, was built across central Wyoming in 1886 and 1887 from western Nebraska. This new road effectively cut off the area that had traditionally been tributary to Cheyenne. The Cheyenne and Northern was built too late and did not extend far enough north to counter the challenge of the Wyoming Central; the line extended a mere 125 miles north of the city, and goods shipped beyond this had to be transferred to freight wagons. The new communities which sprang up in the north along the line of the Wyoming Central--Lusk, Douglas, Glenrock, and Casper--looked to eastern centers rather than Cheyenne for metropolitan leadership. Although the Cheyenne and Northern was extended further north in 1890 at the insistence of Cheyenne's business community, the pattern was not appreciably changed. Cheyenne had lost a large portion of its northern hinterland.⁹⁹

While the northern railroad scheme eventually turned out to be a poor bargain for local taxpayers, improved relations between the city and the Union Pacific during the 1880's proved to be of substantial value to the city. The Union Pacific had gradually moved a substantial proportion of its transport department to Cheyenne. By 1880, about

⁹⁹U.S., Congress, Senate, Testimony taken by the United States Pacific Railway Commission, 50th Cong., 1st Sess., 1887, Exec. Doc. 51, pp. 2069-79.

200 railroad employees lived in the city, most of them engineers, brakemen, firemen, and conductors. These constituted 28.6% of all railroad employees in the Territory in contrast to 8.8% in 1870.¹⁰⁰

Even more important for the city was the Union Pacific's new regard for local traffic. During the 1870's local traffic had been largely a one-way affair for, like other frontier communities, Cheyenne imported far more goods than it shipped back East. With the large shipments of cattle to Chicago, however, the freight traffic became more balanced; the company was able to lower rates on goods being shipped West. Another reason for improved relations was the company's belief that the leaders of Cheyenne's business community had supported the company during a period of labor unrest in 1885. While Cheyenne itself had no labor problems, Warren, as governor, had used the army to break a strike against the Union Pacific in the western part of the Territory. Apparently feeling indebted to Warren for his action, the company's directors decided to build a huge passenger depot in Cheyenne instead of Ogden, Utah, as originally planned. The large sandstone structure was designed by Kansas City architects in the H. H. Richardson style, and building began in 1886. The city's reaction was reflected by Warren who wrote: "It

¹⁰⁰Bureau of the Census, Ninth and Tenth Censuses . . . 1870 and 1880, Wyoming Schedules. Arrington, The Changing Economic Structure . . ., pp. 30-31.

will be a beauty when finished and will last forever of course."¹⁰¹

Twenty years earlier, the Union Pacific's promises to make Cheyenne a railroad center had resulted in a boom town. By the late 1880's, with the end of the cattle boom, the company breathed life into a despondent city by making good on its original promises. The occasion was the company's decision in 1889 to locate an extensive system of shops, to cost about \$500,000, in the city. The decision to locate their shops in Cheyenne rather than in Laramie, Denver, or Omaha, all of which had actively sought them, was the result of a combination of local circumstances and initiative by local leaders. Company officials feared the power of organized labor in the other centers. Also involved was the determination of Warren and Carey who negotiated with the company on behalf of the city. In return for the shops, they agreed to grant the railroad a variety of concessions including the closing of several streets north of the railroad tracks; they also promised to build two viaducts and agreed to supply water and ice to the company without charge.

Residents of the city agreed with outside observers

¹⁰¹ Warren to E. M. Warren, November 13, 1886, Warren Letters. W. E. Chaplin, "The Development of the Union Pacific Railroad in Wyoming," Wyoming Historical Collections (1920), pp. 132-33. Willard B. Robinson, "Northwest Architecture, 1824-1893" (unpublished Master's thesis, Rice Institute, 1961), p. 111.

that Warren and Carey had pulled off a spectacular coup. As a correspondent of the New York World put it, in referring to the failure of Omaha and Denver, "Cheyenne is small, but her businessmen are rustlers."¹⁰² The extent to which Warren's energetic leadership in particular was regarded as significant is illustrated by the comments of the Laramie Sentinel:

If we could get him to transfer his interests and his citizenship to Laramie we would rather have him than have the Union Pacific railway shops. He has done more for Cheyenne than any dozen other men, and energetic, public spirited men are not scarce down there, either. He is intensely loyal to Cheyenne.¹⁰³

The boom town mentality, an essential part of Cheyenne's character, again came to the surface. The Sun reflected the community's mood, believing that the railroad shops "would at one stroke make us wealthy and prosperous."¹⁰⁴ The optimism which supposed that the city would now grow more quickly, however, was hardly borne out in the coming years. The Union Pacific shops provided only a relatively limited industrial base and no other industries or manufac-

¹⁰² New York World, January 12, 1889, clipping in Warren Scrapbook, No. 24. Leonard, "The Denver Chamber of Commerce . . . ," pp. 74-75. Sun, January 6, 20, February 3, 1889. Denver Republican, January 7, 1889. Denver News, January 7, 1889.

¹⁰³ January 19, 1889.

¹⁰⁴ January 6, 1889. Similarly optimistic predictions were made by the Leader, January 6, 1889; and by the Cheyenne Daily Tribune, January 7, 1889, clipping in Warren Scrapbook, No. 24.

turing could be attracted. Cheyenne's population growth was almost imperceptible, especially in the light of the tremendous urban growth in other parts of the country.

TABLE 5

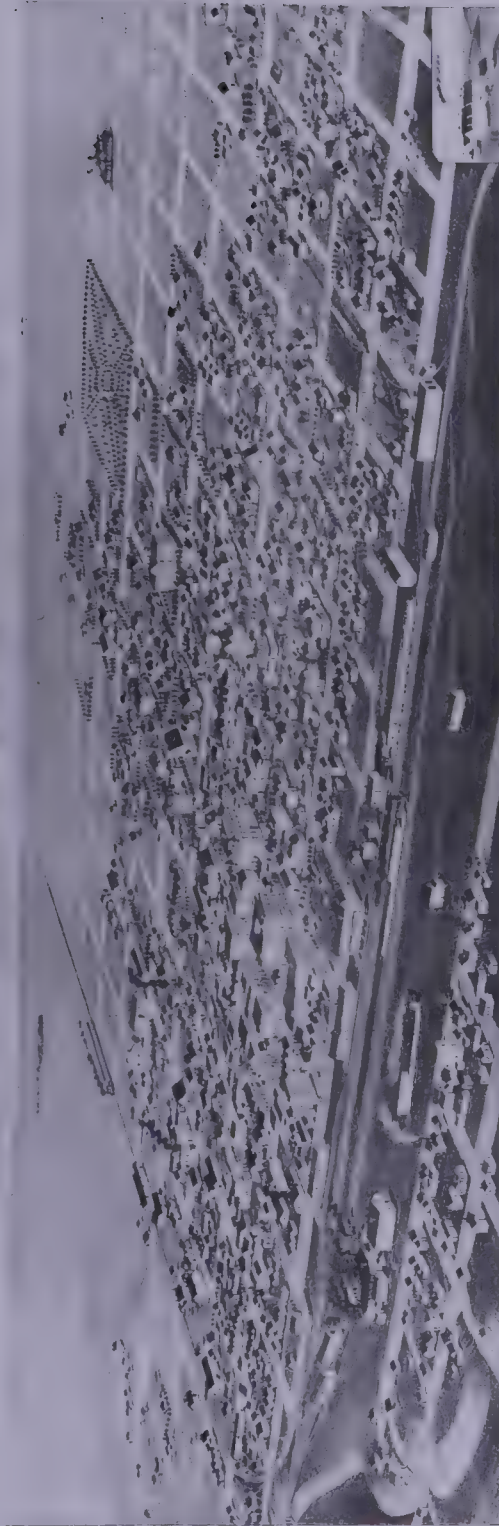
POPULATION OF CHEYENNE, 1890-1940

1890		11,690
1900		14,087
1910		11,320
1920		13,829
1930		17,361
1940		22,474

In the future the city would rely mainly on commerce. One of the important local markets would be the soldiers at Fort Russell. While the quartermaster's depot, Camp Carlin, was abandoned by 1890, Fort Russell became a full regimental post after the turn of the century, largely because of Warren's influence as chairman of the Senate Military Affairs Committee.¹⁰⁵

The city's role as commercial center of its region, however, was seriously limited by the fact that the Wyoming Central had cut off a large part of the northern hinterland. What remained was only sparsely populated. Cheyenne's residents had struggled valiantly with an environment which yielded rewards only reluctantly. Urban greatness obviously had eluded the city. The golden days when the city dominated almost every aspect of territorial life were soon just a memory.

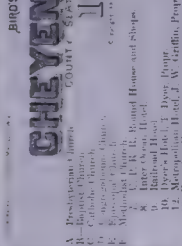
¹⁰⁵Jane R. Kendall, "History of Fort Francis E. Warren," Annals of Wyoming, XVIII (January, 1946), 3-66.



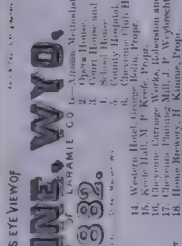
THE COURT HOUSE



IMM. INFECT. CLUB HALL



2. Metropolitan Model. J. W. C. Orr



3. **Honore Henry, 1st Kinne, 1st**



OPERATION



EMERGENCY PUBLIC

SEE ME NOW

LINE. WYO.
3/ KARAMEE CO
832.

1. —Misses Methodist Church
2. Opera House.
3. Court House and Jail
4. —
5. County Hospital.
6. Cheyenne Club House.
7. —
8. Western Hotel George Bell, Proprietor.
9. Arch Hall, M. P. Kerk, Proprietor.
10. —
11. —
12. —
13. —
14. —
15. —
16. —
17. Cheyenne Dining Mill, J. P. Waplesch, Proprietor.
18. House Brewery, H. Kuttner, Proprietor.

NEWEN
COUNTY, SEASIDE
CITY

11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60
61
62
63
64
65
66
67
68
69
70
71
72
73
74
75
76
77
78
79
80
81
82
83
84
85
86
87
88
89
90
91
92
93
94
95
96
97
98
99
100
101
102
103
104
105
106
107
108
109
110
111
112
113
114
115
116
117
118
119
120
121
122
123
124
125
126
127
128
129
130
131
132
133
134
135
136
137
138
139
140
141
142
143
144
145
146
147
148
149
150
151
152
153
154
155
156
157
158
159
160
161
162
163
164
165
166
167
168
169
170
171
172
173
174
175
176
177
178
179
180
181
182
183
184
185
186
187
188
189
190
191
192
193
194
195
196
197
198
199
200
201
202
203
204
205
206
207
208
209
210
211
212
213
214
215
216
217
218
219
220
221
222
223
224
225
226
227
228
229
230
231
232
233
234
235
236
237
238
239
240
241
242
243
244
245
246
247
248
249
250
251
252
253
254
255
256
257
258
259
260
261
262
263
264
265
266
267
268
269
270
271
272
273
274
275
276
277
278
279
280
281
282
283
284
285
286
287
288
289
290
291
292
293
294
295
296
297
298
299
300
301
302
303
304
305
306
307
308
309
310
311
312
313
314
315
316
317
318
319
320
321
322
323
324
325
326
327
328
329
330
331
332
333
334
335
336
337
338
339
340
341
342
343
344
345
346
347
348
349
350
351
352
353
354
355
356
357
358
359
360
361
362
363
364
365
366
367
368
369
370
371
372
373
374
375
376
377
378
379
380
381
382
383
384
385
386
387
388
389
390
391
392
393
394
395
396
397
398
399
400
401
402
403
404
405
406
407
408
409
410
411
412
413
414
415
416
417
418
419
420
421
422
423
424
425
426
427
428
429
430
431
432
433
434
435
436
437
438
439
440
441
442
443
444
445
446
447
448
449
450
451
452
453
454
455
456
457
458
459
460
461
462
463
464
465
466
467
468
469
470
471
472
473
474
475
476
477
478
479
480
481
482
483
484
485
486
487
488
489
490
491
492
493
494
495
496
497
498
499
500
501
502
503
504
505
506
507
508
509
510
511
512
513
514
515
516
517
518
519
520
521
522
523
524
525
526
527
528
529
530
531
532
533
534
535
536
537
538
539
540
541
542
543
544
545
546
547
548
549
550
551
552
553
554
555
556
557
558
559
560
561
562
563
564
565
566
567
568
569
570
571
572
573
574
575
576
577
578
579
580
581
582
583
584
585
586
587
588
589
590
591
592
593
594
595
596
597
598
599
600
601
602
603
604
605
606
607
608
609
610
611
612
613
614
615
616
617
618
619
620
621
622
623
624
625
626
627
628
629
630
631
632
633
634
635
636
637
638
639
640
641
642
643
644
645
646
647
648
649
650
651
652
653
654
655
656
657
658
659
660
661
662
663
664
665
666
667
668
669
670
671
672
673
674
675
676
677
678
679
680
681
682
683
684
685
686
687
688
689
690
691
692
693
694
695
696
697
698
699
700
701
702
703
704
705
706
707
708
709
710
711
712
713
714
715
716
717
718
719
720
721
722
723
724
725
726
727
728
729
730
731
732
733
734
735
736
737
738
739
740
741
742
743
744
745
746
747
748
749
750
751
752
753
754
755
756
757
758
759
760
761
762
763
764
765
766
767
768
769
770
771
772
773
774
775
776
777
778
779
780
781
782
783
784
785
786
787
788
789
790
791
792
793
794
795
796
797
798
799
800
801
802
803
804
805
806
807
808
809
810
811
812
813
814
815
816
817
818
819
820
821
822
823
824
825
826
827
828
829
830
831
832
833
834
835
836
837
838
839
840
841
842

Killam, Meat and Vegetable Market, 265 Tully St.
H. H. A. Mutual Pharmacy and Sundry Goods, 300 North
Main St., Tel. 7-9800.
J. M. Foster Appliances, Carey Block.
A. R. Boyer Motors, Gary Block.
R. J. O'Connell's Restaurant, 254 North Main St.
Bismark & Bousquet, Custom Boots and Shoes, 330 South St.
C. E. Smith, Jeweler and Optician, 111 Tully St.
Herman & Co., Dry and Fancy Goods, 265 Tully St.
Kernan & Campbell, Fresh Fruit and Vegetables, 265 Tully St.
L. J. O'Brien, Fish Market, 265 Tully St.
The Capital Merchant Tailor and Shirts, 151
Tully St., Tel. 7-9800.
The Lady's Dressing Room, 265 Tully St.,
Tel. 7-9800.

19. Leighton House, 11. Hatfield, Herts.

Kent & Arnold, Bankers, 101. Finsbury and Inc., 305. Finsbury St.
F. E. Warren & Co., Carpets, Furnishings and Crochery, Wallpapers,
and Paints, 102. Finsbury St. Telephone 101. Finsbury St.
F. E. Warren & Co., Carpets, Furnishings and Crochery, Wallpapers,
and Paints, 102. Finsbury St. Telephone 101. Finsbury St.

Geo. W. Hoyt, Fridge and Chimneys, 371, 105th St.
H. S. Oliver, Fridge and Chimneys, 371, 105th St.
H. S. Oliver, Fridge and Chimneys, 371, 105th St.
H. S. Oliver, Fridge and Chimneys, 371, 105th St.

Gray & Gardner, Furniture, Carpets, Crochery and House Furnish-
ing Goods, 297 and 301 Eddy St.
Gray & Gardner, Furniture, Carpets, Crochery and House Furnish-
ing Goods, 297 and 301 Eddy St.

J. & H. Ullmann, Shoes and Billiard Ball, 300 Eddy St.
J. & H. Ullmann, Shoes and Billiard Ball, 300 Eddy St.
J. & H. Ullmann, Shoes and Billiard Ball, 300 Eddy St.

Zimmer, Johnson & Moeckner, Manufacturing Jewellers, 1401, 81.
Zimmer, Johnson & Moeckner, Manufacturing Jewellers, 1401, 81.

W. M. Masi, Books, Stationery, etc., 230 Finsbury St.
W. M. Masi, Books, Stationery, etc., 230 Finsbury St.

Joe East, Contractor and Builder, 1041, St. Cor. Seymour.
Joe East, Contractor and Builder, 1041, St. Cor. Seymour.

[illegible][illegible]

Fig. 8.--Cheyenne from the Southeast, 1882.

CHAPTER X

THE GOLDEN AGE

As the cattlemen's headquarters during the middle 1880's, Cheyenne took on the aura of wealth and sophistication of the men who dominated the city's social structure. Gone was the raw, frontier atmosphere of the railroad construction days and the Black Hills excitement. The golden age had arrived, with residents claiming that the city was the wealthiest per capita in the country. Determined to provide the most modern urban services, the city government finally built an adequate water system, and a locally-owned company introduced electric lights. As visible symbols of their wealth, cattlemen built expensive homes in the popular styles of the Gilded Age and formed an exclusive gentlemen's club to cater to their social needs. As in every aspiring western city, the familiar Opera House appeared, quickly becoming the center of the community's cultural activities. Although interest in intellectual matters continued to lag, basic social institutions, such as the schools and churches, were well supported.

Compared to colorful cowtowns such as Miles City, Montana, Dodge City, Kansas, Ogallala, Nebraska, or Tascosa, Texas, Cheyenne achieved a remarkable degree of urbanity by

the 1880's.¹ Compared to any of the large metropolitan centers in the country, on the other hand, Cheyenne was only a small step removed from the cowtown. In spite of the city's new prosperity, its population had remained relatively static in an age when mushrooming populations were a characteristic aspect of urbanization. By 1880 Cheyenne's population had only reached 3,456 and by 1890, 11,690. This small population consigned the city to a far lower status than that envisaged by its optimistic founders. Moreover, compared to the larger urban centers, Cheyenne was a "semi-rural" community, where a definite urban-rural dichotomy was often not clearly drawn.² A relatively high proportion (5%) of those

¹Comparing life in Cheyenne to that in these cowtowns, however, is a risky proposition. Without having the opportunity to personally investigate the history of these towns, the writer is forced to rely only on the questionable literature that is available. An example is the well-known picture of the Kansas cowtowns as drawn in such works as: Stanley Vestal, Queen of the Cowtowns: Dodge City (New York, 1952); Robert M. Wright, Dodge City: The Cowboy Capital and the Great Southwest (Wichita, 1913); Floyd Benjamin Streeter, Prairie Trails and Cow Towns (Boston, 1936). Social activity supposedly centered around the saloons, gambling dens, and dance halls. Yet a recent scholarly study of these towns by Robert Dykstra, "The Cattle Town Experience: Social Process and the Cattle Trading Centers, 1867-1885" (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, State University of Iowa, 1964), shows that the traditional conservative urban institutions were very much in existence, but previous writers apparently ignored them for the more colorful aspects.

²This is the definition used by Max Weber in his economic classification of medieval cities of this type, in The City, trans. and ed. Don Martindale and Gertrude Neuwirth (New York, [1958] 1962), pp. 77-78. Urban historians and sociologists are increasingly attacking the traditional emphasis on an urban-rural dichotomy as merely a hypothetical

in occupations in Cheyenne were directly involved in stock-raising (51 stockgrowers and 24 stockherders). While this proportion might appear insignificant, it was higher than that for Wyoming generally (3.1%) and, as might be expected, far higher than the national average (0.2%).³ As was shown in the last chapter, the stockgrowers had far more influence in the city than their numbers would indicate. As many as five or six but usually only three (Carey, Warren, and Sturgis) dominated the power structure.

Compared to the stockgrowers, the city's professionals had not grown substantially in numbers or in influence in the decade after 1870. The number of lawyers increased from 14 to 15; physicians, 6 to 9; dentists, 2 to 3; clergymen, 5 to 7. Of the semi-professionals, teachers showed a sharp increase from 1 to 15, but newspaper editors dropped in number from 5 to 2.

The business community's position in the city also

"ideal-type" construct. See Eric Lampard, "American Historians and the Study of Urbanization," American Historical Review, LXVII (October, 1961), 56-58.

³ The population statistics for this chapter were compiled from U.S., Bureau of the Census, Ninth and Tenth Censuses of the United States, 1870 and 1880, Wyoming Schedules (National Archives, Washington). Unfortunately, a detailed examination of the 1890 census is impossible as the manuscripts for this year were destroyed by fire. Limited 1890 statistics are available in U.S., Bureau of the Census, Compendium of the Eleventh Census: 1890. Part I:--Population (Washington, 1892), p. 579. General statistics on occupations are taken from Leonard Arrington, The Changing Economic Structure of the Mountain-West, 1850-1950 (Logan, Utah, 1963), pp. 31, 42.

was eroded by the growing power of the stockgrowers. Although the number of merchants increased considerably from 36 to 52, other business groups remained static or showed a decrease. The number of bankers (5) and hotel keepers (9) did not increase; jewellers declined from 7 to 6 and druggists from 3 to 2. Perhaps indicative of changing social habits in the community was the decrease in the number of saloon keepers from 26 to 19 and liquor dealers from 9 to 2.

In contrast with the professionals and businessmen, the number of artisans increased proportionately with the population. For example, carpenters advanced from 36 to 53 and harness and shoemakers from 19 to 27. The largest group of artisans were the railroad employees, mostly engineers, firemen, brakemen, and conductors. These showed a considerable gain from 75 to 200, making up 13.5% of all occupations in 1880.

Like several other interior cities, notably Kansas City and Denver, Cheyenne's population was remarkably homogeneous, lacking the ethnic diversity which was such a familiar part of the urban scene in Chicago and the large eastern centers.⁴ The percentage of foreign-born in Cheyenne dropped from 23.5% in 1870 to 13.2% in 1880; even after the great immigration to the United States during the 1880's

⁴Charles N. Glaab and A. Theodore Brown, A History of Urban America (New York, 1967), pp. 140-41. Constance Green, American Cities in the Growth of the Nation (New York, [1957] 1965), p. 143.

the percentage of foreign-born rose only to 17.2% in 1890. The assimilation of this small proportion of foreign immigrants was a relatively painless process as a substantial percentage of them came from three English-speaking countries--Great Britain, Canada, and Ireland (63.5% in 1870, 41.8% in 1880). In addition, most of the non-English-speaking population in 1880 was German and Scandinavian (80.6%), coming from economically and culturally advanced countries. Of some social and economic significance was a marked decline in the number of Irish-born residents, who had constituted 36.5% of the foreign-born in 1870 but only 14% in 1880. In a city geared to the ranch, not the factory, there were few opportunities for immigrants without skills or without capital to invest.

The nature of the native American population in 1880 differed little from that in 1870 except that the proportion of those born in the mountain states and territories (mostly Wyoming and Colorado) had risen to 14.8% of the total population from 7.2% in 1870. This proportion, larger than the total number of foreign-born, was made up almost entirely of children, and profoundly affected the character of the city's social institutions. The essentially masculine city of the late 1860's had become a city of families by the 1880's. The pattern of migration established from other parts of the United States in 1870 had not changed by 1880. Two Middle Atlantic states (New York and Pennsyl-

vania) followed by three North Central states (Ohio, Illinois, and Missouri) led all other places of origin. The directly westward migration was still the rule; as in 1870, virtually no one born in the Pacific Coast states lived in Cheyenne.

Cheyenne's population was still almost entirely an immigrant population. Nearly every adult had been born somewhere else; many, judging by the various birthplaces of their children, had migrated in stages.⁵ Cheyenne's society mirrored the society of the major places of origin, not only because of the immigrant's unconscious cultural baggage, but also because of a conscious and determined effort to keep up with the part of the country he had left. This fact of western life was quickly apparent to visitors like Owen Wister who expected to find a new society being formed in Wyoming. Less than two weeks after arriving in 1885, he noted in his diary: "The one idea of Western people is to have a town as good as New York," and he pessimistically concluded that western society would "slowly New Yorkify and rot."⁶

Visitors and residents alike agreed that the Cheyenne of the 1880's was a far different city than the rousing frontier community of the late 1860's. The extent to

⁵The pattern for migration of the general population corresponded to the pattern of the cattlemen as discussed in chap. ix.

⁶"Wister Journal," July 10, 21, 1885, Owen Wister Collection (Western History Research Center, University of Wyoming, Laramie).

which the young city had achieved urban maturity was evident in the activity of the municipal government. No longer faced primarily with the task of maintaining law and order, civil authorities, led by the most capable of the cattlemen, could turn their energies to providing more adequate public service of other kinds. Moreover, the new prosperity of the residents was reflected in the financial stability of the municipal government. The Sun reported that collection of local taxes had become easier by 1881, and that even taxes levied back in 1878 were being collected.⁷ The municipal government's financial position also received significant support when the city's representatives in the 1884 territorial legislature were able to get a bill passed which transferred licence revenues from saloon and gambling halls in the city (amounting to about \$18,000 a year) from the county to the city treasury.⁸

Civic leadership from 1881 to 1885 was provided by one of the leading cattlemen, Joseph M. Carey, who was elected mayor in 1881 on promises of action on a variety of urban improvements, especially the traditionally vexing water problem. Carey closely defeated L. R. Bresnahan, mayor for the three years previous to 1881. Voters apparently chose Carey because he seemed capable of initiating a number of progress-

⁷Sun, January 6, December 31, 1881.

⁸Wyoming Territory, Session Laws of the Eighth Legislative Assembly, 1884 (Cheyenne, 1885), pp. 83, 104. Sun, January 24, 26, 1886. Leader, January 23, 1886.

sive programs. A measure of his success in this regard is that by 1883 he was elected by acclamation.⁹

The lack of an adequate supply of drinking water as well as water for irrigation within the city had become a local scandal by the early 1880's. Until 1883 the city relied on a system built by the Union Pacific which brought water from Crow Creek to the railroad depot. The city's pipes, connected to those of the Union Pacific, distributed water to the business district. Residential areas of the city were served by primitive ditches connected to the city pipes. These ditches were to be filled twice a week in that part of the city north of the tracks and once a week south of the tracks, but even this minimal service was not always available, especially in the heat of summer. A major tree-planting project in 1879 seemed in jeopardy if the water supply were not improved; previous attempts to grow trees and gardens had almost always been futile. Some residents believed that "if Cheyenne had put in waterworks ten years ago it would now be as handsome a city as Denver."¹⁰ The sad state of affairs could only partly be attributed to the arid environment for Crow Creek, if dammed properly, could

⁹ Cheyenne, City Council, Minutes of Meeting, January 14, 1881; January 10, 1882; January 12, 1883 (Wyoming State Archives and Historical Department, Cheyenne). Sun, January 11, 1881; January 10, 1882, January 10, 1883.

¹⁰ Sun, May 11, 1881. City Council, Minutes, May 7, 1881.

apparently provide more than enough water for a city of Cheyenne's size. The problem was that residents had not been able to reach a consensus on what should be done. Fears that a lengthy franchise to a private concern might tie the city to poor service and high rates were balanced by corresponding fears that a publicly-owned system would overburden local taxpayers.¹¹

City Council finally took action to end the water dilemma soon after Carey's election as mayor. Together with Tim Dyer, a hotelkeeper and chairman of council's committee on waterworks, Carey launched a new initiative. Council agreed to instruct the Laramie County delegation in the territorial legislature to get a bill allowing the city to issue enough bonds to either construct a water system itself or to turn over the bonds to a private concern. After the city was granted the right to issue \$75,000 in bonds, council decided in favor of a public system and the bonds were quickly taken up at 95¢ on the dollar. Two years later permission was received to issue another \$75,000 in bonds to complete the system. An indication of the city's financial stability by this time is that most of these bonds were taken up at 99 1/4¢ on the

¹¹

City Council, Minutes, April 5, June 21, July 5, November 1, 3, December 6, 1881; January 18, 1882. Sun, February 2, 24, March 2, 12, 15, May 4, 5, 8, 10, 12, July 16, 20, 26, November 18, 1881; January 4, 8, 15, 19, February 17, 1882.

dollar.¹²

The waterworks as completed by the summer of 1883 consisted of a system of bringing water to the city as well as a sewage system. Water was brought to the city by a relatively complicated combination of dams on Crow Creek, a pipe to a new lake, and pipes from a lake formed years earlier (Sloan's Lake, once known as Mahpahluta). The system was designed to provide 600,000 to 1,000,000 gallons of water daily, and in volume was quite successful. The problem of purifying the water, however, plagued officials for years, even though a filter bed was constructed, designed after investigating the cleaning systems of several eastern cities.¹³

The building of a modern waterworks system greatly improved the city's capability of fighting major fires. The city government took more responsibility in this regard than ever before. By 1886 each fire company received \$40 a month in city warrants in order to purchase equipment and meet expenses. The installation of a relatively modern electric fire alarm system also improved the city's protection. The

¹²City Council, Minutes, February 21, June 9, July 12, 1882; January 2, April 15, 1884. Wyoming Territory, Session Laws of the Seventh Legislative Assembly, 1882 (Cheyenne, 1883), pp. 41-45. Wyoming, Session Laws . . . 1884, pp. 27-29. Sun, February 22, March 10, July 13, 1882.

¹³City Council, Minutes, August 16, 18, 22, 23, November 24, 1883; November 4, 1886; February 21, 1888. Wyoming Territory, Session Laws of the Ninth Legislative Assembly, 1886 (Cheyenne, 1887), p. 119. Sun, December 17, 31, 1882; April 5, 1884. Leader, December 29, 1882.

construction of a large number of brick and stone buildings during the prosperous 1880's tended to lessen the possibility of a major conflagration which had haunted the older, almost totally wooden city.¹⁴

Another area where city officials assumed further responsibilities was in the construction and care of streets. As the city grew rapidly in the mid-eighties, streets were extended in every direction from the center of town, which had remained relatively static for the first fifteen years. In cases where streets crossed the property of residents, a committee of about five disinterested citizens appraised the property. The type of all-weather surfacing being introduced in the large eastern cities was still not being used, but streets were now kept fairly well graded and free of trash. Prisoners from the county jail were still occasionally sent to work on the streets, but the grading and cleaning were usually under contract. Sidewalk construction, on the other hand, remained the responsibility of the owner of the lot.¹⁵

Unlike the situation ascribed by legend to some of the cowtowns, Cheyenne's authorities were not faced with any extraordinary problems of law enforcement during the cattle boom. The road agents who had terrorized traffic between

¹⁴ City Council, Minutes, December 2, 1885; November 16, December 15, 1886. Sun, January 6, 1881.

¹⁵ City Council, Minutes, August 17, 1880; December 4, 1883; August 3, 1886; September 18, October 16, 1887. Sun, May 19, 1880.

Cheyenne and the Black Hills during the late 1870's were no longer a menace. The Sun could proclaim with some justification that "no village of New England is more orderly."¹⁶ The relatively small police force consisted of a marshal, two constables, and a watchman in addition to the county sheriff and his deputy. The life of these officers had become relatively dull. Rather than duelling fast drawing outlaws, they spent most of their time collecting city and county taxes, enforcing licence by-laws, serving all kinds of legal papers, and collecting the water rent.¹⁷

A tendency toward violence was not entirely absent, however, as residents still resorted occasionally to the vigilante methods of the past. A certain Mosier, charged with killing a freighter, was being held in the county jail in September, 1883, when a mob of about sixty masked men and many more unmasked residents broke into the jail, dragged Mosier out, and hanged him from a telegraph pole. Carey and other community leaders pleaded unsuccessfully with the mob to allow justice to follow its natural course.¹⁸

¹⁶ Sun, February 23, 1882. For comments on the relatively quiet situation, see George Lathrop, Memoirs of a Pioneer (Philadelphia, 1927), p. 12.

¹⁷ City Council, Minutes, February 7, 1882; March 6, 1883. Nute Craig, Thrills, 1861-1887 (Oakland, 1911), p. 57. Sun, October 21, 1884.

¹⁸ A lengthy description of the event was published in the Sun, September 18, 1884, one year later. Charles A. Guernsey, Wyoming Cowboy Days (New York, 1936), pp. 89-90.

In addition to occasional violence, law enforcement officers shared many of the same problems confronting authorities everywhere in the nation. As in the larger cities, law enforcement usually proved to be a special problem in the Negro section of the city. This small ghetto in the western part of the city housed about two-thirds of the 194 Negroes in the city. Negro leaders complained of the lack of law enforcement in their section and of occasional police brutality, and petitioned council for a colored policeman for their part of town. The West's legendary egalitarianism apparently did not extend to Negroes for the council not only decided that law enforcement was sufficient in the colored section, but that even if it were not they "could not recommend employing a colored man for that position."¹⁹

The city government's action in the field of urban services, notably that of an improved water supply, was paralleled by a private scheme to introduce electric lighting to the city. Electric lights had been successfully demonstrated for outdoor use in a number of major cities by 1880. Cheyenne's press eagerly reported these developments, and advised residents to introduce this new form of lighting because a "coal oil city is considerably behind the times."²⁰

¹⁹

Proceedings of City Council as reported by the Sun, February 16, 1881. Speech by J. M. Carey, reported by the Sun, February 2, 1881.

²⁰

Sun, October 5, 1880; January 6, 8, 1881.

When City Council decided against investing in a system of street lighting proposed by a Denver-based company, the initiative was taken by a group of local businessmen led by that indomitable entrepreneur, F. E. Warren.²¹

The problems encountered by the local leaders who set up the system of electric lighting provide insight into the nature of a western community's attempt to become a modern urban center. At least two opposing factors were involved in the experience: the dynamic and progressive leadership given by the city's leading cattlemen, and the extraordinary difficulties which were the result of the city's relatively isolated location. Residents were intrigued during the summer of 1882 by the demonstrations of electric lighting by a representative of a Cleveland corporation, the Brush Electric Light Company. The type of electric lighting shown was arc lighting of which Charles Brush, a Cleveland chemist, had been a major innovator. By 1880 Brush had set up operations in the major eastern cities and in San Francisco. A Brush representative usually enlisted local capital to form a company. The local company applied for a franchise, purchased or rented Brush equipment, and turned over one-third to almost one-half of its paid-up stock to the parent company.²² A

²¹ City Council, Minutes, March 1, 15, 1881. Sun, February 24, 26, 27, March 2, 8, 16, April 17, June 24, November 17, 1881.

²² Arc lighting was based on the electric arc formed

local company was set up in Denver on this basis, with an outdoor lighting system in operation by 1881.

Cheyenne's community leaders, however, were determined to thoroughly investigate all of the possible forms of electric lighting available before they committed themselves. Involved in addition to Warren were four other capitalists, all cattlemen--M. E. Post, Thomas Sturgis, J. M. Carey, and W. C. Irvine. This group decided to send a representative, C. P. Annett, to Chicago, Buffalo, Cleveland, and New York to see Brush's lights and those of his competitors in actual operation. Annett observed the Edison incandescent lights in Marshall Field's store in Chicago; While they gave a fine light he felt they would be too expensive for Cheyenne. The western envoy also visited Brush's residence in Cleveland, saw some experimental Brush-Swan incandescent lights in operation, and discussed the future of electric lighting with Brush.²³ As a result of Annett's

by the current between the ends of two pencil-like pieces of carbon. Source of the power was a dynamo. Incandescent light was based on a non-burning, high friction element in a vacuum container. Harold C. Passer, The Electrical Manufacturers, 1875-1900 (Cambridge, Mass., 1963), pp. 11-19. Charles F. Brush, "Some Reminiscences of Early Electric Lighting," Journal of the Franklin Institute, CCVI (July, 1928), 3-9. Henry Schroeder, "History of Electric Light," Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, No. 2717 (1923), pp. 33-41.

²³ C. P. Annett to Thomas Sturgis, July 21, 1882, Letters of the Brush-Swan Electric Light Company of Cheyenne, 1882-1885, Warren Collection (Western History Research Center, University of Wyoming, Laramie). The Company is hereafter cited as B-S ELC of Cheyenne. Sun, June 10, 14, July 21, 1882.

enthusiastic report, the five capitalists, characterized by the Leader as those who "are largely guilty of Cheyenne's boom this season," formed the Brush-Swan Electric Light Company of Cheyenne. Warren was elected president; Irvine, vice-president; and Sturgis, secretary-treasurer. Fifty thousand dollars worth of stock was issued; \$30,000 was taken up equally by the five trustees and the other \$20,000 was sent to the parent company.²⁴ The necessary equipment for the arc light system--a dynamo, engines, wire, and bulbs--was soon purchased. By January 15, 1883, forty lights in thirty business establishments were burning brightly.²⁵

The introduction of incandescent lighting for homes, however, ran into a series of costly delays and failures. The local company hoped to use a recent innovation by Brush, that of lighting incandescent lamps (as produced by Brush's partner, Swan) by means of storage batteries. This system had been successfully demonstrated by Brush in New York.²⁶ Local officials were elated by the assurance of Brush's local agent that theirs was the first company in the country formed specifically to use the Brush batteries and that their

²⁴ Minute Book of the B-S ELC of Cheyenne, August 2, 8, 1882, Warren Collection. Leader, August 3, 1882. Sun, August 3, 6, 1882.

²⁵ Leader, January 6, 9, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18, 20, 23, 25, 1883. Sun, January 6, 13, 14, 15, 16, 1883.

²⁶ Passer, The Electrical Manufacturers . . ., pp. 78-80, 90, 183. Leader, December 27, 1882; February 1, 1883. Sun, August 6, 1882; January 13, 14, 1883.

order for batteries was the first on the list.²⁷ But the parent company did not send the batteries as quickly as promised, and the local company began to lose ground in its competition with a recently organized gas company. Finally a few batteries arrived by the summer of 1883. An experiment at the Cheyenne Club was a complete success and led to renewed demands for the full order.²⁸ Thomas Sturgis tried to convince the parent company's officials to hurry the order:

We wish to impress upon you the importance of this point as the center for the establishment of the incandescent light--and promptly--It is no exaggeration to say that Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, New Mexico, Arizona and Idaho are all waiting to see the success or failure of this storage system in Cheyenne and we trust that we shall not be kept waiting long for batteries to prove its entire success.²⁹

The parent company, however, decided to exhibit its lights in New York City and other eastern population centers before sending its batteries to a company serving only a small population in a relatively isolated city. Sturgis and Warren were incensed by this development.³⁰ In a bitter

²⁷ Warren to G. H. Stockly, General Manager of Brush Electric Company in Cleveland, April 12, 1883; Sturgis to Stockly, April 24, 1883; Warren to Brush Electric Company, Cleveland, April 30, 1883; William F. Swift to Warren, May 3, 1883, Letters of B-S ELC of Cheyenne.

²⁸ Sturgis to Stockly, May 5, 1883; E. P. Roberts to W. B. Rundle, May 10, 1883; W. J. Montgomery to Roberts, October 17, 1883, Letters of B-S ELC of Cheyenne.

²⁹ Sturgis to Brush Electric Company, Cleveland, July 19, 1883, Letters of B-S ELC of Cheyenne.

³⁰ Stockly to Sturgis, August 6, November 3, 1883;

letter to the general manager, Warren pointed out that local residents were turning to a gas company which had just been granted a franchise, for the electric light company's batteries were rumored to be failures. The county administration had introduced gas into all of its buildings because of the delays in getting electricity. The building which would house the coming territorial legislature, while wired for electricity, would be forced to use coal oil, to the great embarrassment of the electric light company. Warren sarcastically concluded: "Nothing has been lacking on our part to make our plant a brilliant success. But thanks to the fostering & parental care (?) of the Parent Co. we are now in the eyes of our--would be if they had a chance--patrons & of this community, a brilliant failure."³¹

In spite of the difficulties encountered in getting the batteries, the local company was becoming a fairly large operation. The company employed five foremen and fifteen other employees. The arc light system operated by three dynamos was a success, although local confidence in electric lighting was shaky at best. The city contracted for eighteen street lights at a cost of \$13 per night during 1883, but the term of the contract was only for nine months. The

Sturgis to Stockly, September 12, October 31, 1883; William Swift to Sturgis, September 18, 1883, Letters of B-S ELC of Cheyenne.

³¹ Warren to Brush Electric Company, Cleveland, November 29, 1883, Letters of B-S ELC of Cheyenne.

contract was renewed only after an extended argument by Warren, who was also an alderman.³²

The company's local officials believed that their only problem with the incandescent system was the lack of batteries. But their real problems began when the batteries arrived and were put to use in January of 1884. The system was based on Brush's idea of combining the arc-dynamo and the incandescent battery systems on one circuit. The arc current from a dynamo lit the streets at night and charged the storage batteries for the incandescent lights during the day. Thomas Edison had rejected this system as impractical³³ and Cheyenne's residents realized why after several months. The batteries were apparently still in the experimental stage and did not do the job expected of them. Disgusted with the long-awaited and much-publicized equipment, the local company suspended all payments for equipment to the parent company--amounting to over \$20,000--until the system definitely worked.³⁴

Company officials in Cleveland later admitted that

³²Minute Book of the B-S ELC of Cheyenne, January 8, December 2, 1884. City Council, Minutes, May 15, 1883; February 5, November 24, December 9, 1884. Sun, January 3, November 19, December 10, 1884.

³³Passer, The Electrical Manufacturers. . ., p. 206.

³⁴Minute Book of the B-S ELC of Cheyenne, April 23, June 24, December 2, 1884. William M. Hand to Hiram Sapp, November 4, 1929, B-S ELC of Cheyenne Material (Wyoming State Archives and Historical Department, Cheyenne). Hand worked for the company in Cheyenne from 1882 to 1885, and was later an executive with General Electric.

their batteries were merely experimental, but they believed that Cheyenne's officials were also to blame. The parent company had always been "loathe to send you so large a number of batteries out of the first lots we made, for you had no experience with them, and you were a good ways off, but you would accept no excuses."³⁵ The Cleveland company's attempt to collect the amount due it was scorned by Warren, who wrote that he was "completely disgusted with the small way in which you wish to 'higgle' over this settlement. It is not as we western men make our settlements."³⁶

The parent company had not abandoned its affiliate, however. According to the general manager, they were "sincerely anxious to help the Cheyenne Company in every way we possibly can, and their case is constantly in mind. Mr. Brush is giving the problem his own attention, and if there is any possible solution for it he will certainly reach it."³⁷ The possible solution itself became a new problem, for the entire battery system would have to be scrapped, and dynamos of the type the Edison systems used installed. In addition, the plant would have to be rebuilt nearer the customers. To

³⁵ Stockly to B-S ELC of Cheyenne, July 30, 1884; Stockly to G. S. Erb, December 15, 1884, Letters of the B-S ELC of Cheyenne.

³⁶ Warren to Brush Electric Company, Cleveland, September 1, 1884, Letters of the B-S ELC of Cheyenne.

³⁷ Stockly to G. S. Erb, December 15, 1884, Letters of the B-S ELC of Cheyenne.

compensate Cheyenne's company, the parent company offered to take back all of the defective equipment and pay \$5,000 damages. The offer was turned down, but after a trip to Cleveland in the spring of 1885, Warren returned with an acceptable agreement: Cheyenne's company received credit for all the equipment it had paid for--about \$32,000 worth; it would receive \$10,000 in damages and three incandescent light dynamos free of charge.³⁸ The technical and financial problems of the company were now solved, for the new system was successfully tried in lighting the Cheyenne Club and the residences of Warren and G. L. Wright. The stockholders voted to construct a new plant, and by the fall of 1885 Cheyenne was being served by a modern electrical system. The gas company and the electric light company were eventually merged in 1888 after Warren bought a controlling interest in the gas company and sold the shares at cost to the electric light company.³⁹

A great deal of local pride still centers around a myth that Cheyenne was the first city in the country to have electric lighting, the first to have domestic electric lighting, and so on. The only "first" Cheyenne could possibly claim is a dubious one, for the experiment failed: the com-

³⁸ Minute Book of the B-S ELC of Cheyenne, December 2, 1884; February 9, 10, March 14, May 26, 1885.

³⁹ Minute Book of the B-S ELC of Cheyenne, August 11, 31, 1885; April 11, 1887; January 9, 1888. Leader, September 4, 1885.

bination of batteries and arc lights on a single circuit.⁴⁰
 The significance of the entire episode, however, lies not in any "first," but rather in the fact that a group of entrepreneurs in this small western community were determined to keep pace with the most progressive communities in the East.

Cheyenne was not faced with the problem of public transportation as were so many of the larger, congested cities during this period. A horse-drawn street railway system of the type common in the eastern cities since the 1850's was constructed in 1887 by a group of local businessmen headed by Luke Voorhees, who had managed the Black Hills stage and coach line. Tracks covered the principal streets downtown and extended north to the Capitol building. The venture never had a chance of success, however, and was quickly abandoned. Public transportation was unnecessary in a small city where most residents owned horse-drawn conveyances or could easily walk the short distances involved.⁴¹

The introduction of a modern system of waterworks,

⁴⁰ William Hand to Robert D. Hanesworth, October 15, 1934, B-S ELC of Cheyenne Material. The belief in Cheyenne's place in electric lighting was vigorously championed by Professor Grace Hebard of the University of Wyoming. For example, see her letter to Norman A. Miller, July 31, 1934, B-S ELC of Cheyenne Material.

⁴¹ Minute Book of the Cheyenne Street Railroad Company, April 19, 1887; February 1, May 27, 1889, Warren Collection. City Council, Minutes, May 21, 1889. Luke Voorhees, Personal Recollections of Pioneer Life (Philadelphia, 1927), p. 9. Guernsey, Wyoming Cowboy Days, p. 51.

electric lights, and other urban conveniences in Cheyenne during these years reflected trends common to the established areas of the country. Other changes in the manner and quality of living were also apparent, particularly in the homes the residents built. During the first fifteen years of Cheyenne's existence, few substantial homes were constructed, probably because of the city's uncertain future. During the 1880's, however, the cattlemen's new homes were among the best evidence of Cheyenne's new prosperity and maturity. Most of these homes were concentrated along "Millionaires' Row," a five-block area of Ferguson Avenue between Nineteenth and Twenty-fourth Streets, and cost between \$20,000 and \$60,000 each to build.

In addition to the obvious prosperity the character and style of these homes also indicated a great deal about Cheyenne's residents. A reporter from the San Francisco Daily Record, visiting Cheyenne in 1885, was struck by the architectural styles of the new homes; he thought them "unique, picturesque and some even grotesque." He concluded that the wealth of the cattlemen accentuated their individualism: "For the first time in my life I saw villa after villa fashioned just to suit the particular ideas of its occupant."⁴² The reporter might well have applied his generalization to the homes of aggressive entrepreneurs anywhere in the country, for the archi-

⁴² San Francisco Daily Record, April 1, 1885, clipping in Warren Scrapbook, No. 24, Warren Collection.

itecture of houses in Cheyenne merely illustrated the eclectic as well as the derivative character of popular culture of the Gilded Age.⁴³ Many of the homes were a combination of many styles because owners often disregarded the advice of the architects they hired. The Sun pointed out the architect's difficulties in Cheyenne: "When a demand is made for Gothic style on one side of the house, Elizabethan on the other, to say nothing of Corinthian chimneys, it is pretty hard to make a pleasing combination."⁴⁴

An example of the result was the enormous, three-storey, twenty-five room, brick and stone mansion built by J. M. Carey which was an ostentatious clutter of porches, arches, and trimmings. Most of the homes, in fact were awkward, grotesque, almost looking embarrassed by the nakedness of their surroundings. The treeless city seemed particularly ill-suited for these dwellings, although they later developed some sense of style when shrubbery and great trees offset their height and ornateness. No attempt was made to develop a style more suitable to the naked, windswept terrain.

In spite of the esthetic shortcomings of most of the new homes, some did indicate a degree of taste. Most of them were probably built basically from plan books, but a surprising

⁴³

For examples of this phenomenon, see Wayne Andrews, Architecture, Ambition and Americans, A Social History of American Architecture (Glencoe, Ill., [1955] 1964), pp. 152-204.

⁴⁴ December 26, 1882.

number were designed by local architects, showing that in this respect Cheyenne had progressed beyond the country town mentality. The most popular architectural style in the city, as in the nation, was the Queen Anne, whose chief proponent was the Englishman, Charles Eastlake. A disciple of Eastlake, George Rainsford, was the most popular architect in Cheyenne. Rainsford, educated in Europe, practised his profession for a time in New York before coming to Cheyenne to invest in the cattle business. His architectural talents were constantly in demand, however, and he designed over a dozen homes in the Queen Anne style. They all remarkably resembled contemporary homes elsewhere in the country, also built by architects influenced by Eastlake.

Among Rainsford's best were the homes of A. R. Converse, William Sturgis, and R. S. Van Tassell. Shingles were used on all of them rather than the English tile which was difficult to procure in the West. Another popular style in Cheyenne was the Italian villa, of which the Hi Kelly house is an example. This frame house, with its double front doors, probably was constructed from a plan book. A third type was the stone mansion built by the banker, D. D. Dare. His home, usually referred to as Castle Dare, was designed by J. P. Julien who also designed several other homes and public buildings in the city. The large edifice reflected the influence of romanticism and was remarkably free of the unnecessary detail which characterized most of the homes of

this period.⁴⁵

The cost of some of these homes was enormous, judging by the standards of the time. An example was the elaborate brick and stone house of Max Idelman, a liquor dealer, which was said to have cost \$55,000 to build. Yet it was possible to buy a substantial frame house, fully furnished, complete with a stable, fence, and sidewalk, located on four lots in the best residential part of town, for \$20,000. The interiors of many of the large homes were as elaborate as the exteriors. The entire third floor of the Idelman house was a beautifully panelled ballroom. Every bedroom on the second floor had a fireplace and full length mirrors built into the walls. The interior of the Carey house was reputedly the most elegant in the city. Crystal chandeliers hung from frescoed ceilings, done by an Italian artist brought to Cheyenne by Carey. Oriental rugs covered the floors. The library, the drawing room, and the dining room all reflected Carey's wealth and status.⁴⁶

45

Willard B. Robinson, "Northwest Architecture, 1834-1893" (unpublished Master's thesis, Rice Institute, 1961), pp. 67-70, 81-84, 86-89. Laramie County Historical Society, Early Cheyenne Homes, 1880-1890 (Cheyenne, 1962), pp. 8-9, 30-31, 42-48, 66-67. Robert R. Roberts, "Gilt, Gingerbread, and Realism: The Public and Its Taste," The Gilded Age: A Reappraisal, ed. H. Wayne Morgan (Syracuse [1963] 1964), p. 174. Andrews, Architecture, Ambition and Americans . . ., p. 175.

46

Laramie County Historical Society, Early Cheyenne Homes . . ., pp. 17-19. Henry Hay to J. B. Thomas, March 14, 1884, Dunder Collection (Western History Research Center, University of Wyoming, Laramie).

The homes built in the city during the 1880's were regarded as a measure of the new elegance and sophistication of the city. Another obvious measure was the exclusive social club, the Cheyenne Club. Unlike other western social clubs such as the Denver Club or the Montana Club of Helena, the Cheyenne Club was almost entirely dominated by immigrant cattlemen.⁴⁷ In this respect the Club was something of a foreign embassy in the city, representing an outside elite who were unhappy with the facilities of what they regarded as a crude frontier village. Some native cattlemen became members, but only the wealthiest and most influential. Local businessmen and professionals were usually excluded. After the crash of the cattle industry in 1887, however, the Club became increasingly local in character as most of the immigrant cattlemen left the city.

Like the socially conscious who arrived soon after the gold rush began in California to found the exclusive Pacific Union Club in San Francisco, the eastern aristocrats coming to Cheyenne wanted something like the noble Boston club, the Somerset. During the summer of 1880 twelve wealthy young cattlemen formed the Cactus Club which they later called the Cheyenne Club.⁴⁸ Their motives were spelled out in letters to

⁴⁷ Lewis Atherton, The Cattle Kings (Bloomington, 1962), pp. 67-68.

⁴⁸ Minutes of Cheyenne Club Meetings, June 5, 1880, Cheyenne Club Collection (Wyoming State Archives and Histori-

forty-five individuals selected to be invited to join. In the first place, the Club would provide a decent restaurant which would be a "substitute for and an improvement on the old R. R. House where . . . sprees of the Jones family [who managed that restaurant] are growing inconveniently frequent."⁴⁹

The new Club would obviously be based on eastern models with a "convenient clubhouse with all possible comforts--including rooms for members when in town, a good restaurant, and in short the Somerset moved West."⁵⁰

A snobbish attitude toward the local population was apparent in the comments to some of the prospective members. For the present the Club would be limited to fifty members, "in order to be able to control the social status most satisfactorily," and also that "we may keep it full at all times and avoid blackballing too many 'natives.'"⁵¹

Of the forty original members, about half actually lived in

cal Department, Cheyenne). This Club has been the subject of a lengthy article by Agnes W. Spring, "The Cheyenne Club, Mecca of the Aristocrats of the Old-Time Cattle Range," Hereford Journal, XXXVIII (July, 1961), pp. 196-248, and innumerable short descriptions in almost every book about the western cattle industry. For a general discussion of comparable gentlemen's clubs, see Dixon Wector, The Saga of American Society, a Record of Social Aspirations, 1607-1937 (New York, 1937), pp. 267-68.

⁴⁹William Sturgis to F. O. deBillier, June 10, 1880, Letters of Cheyenne Club Members, WSGA Collection (Western History Research Center, University of Wyoming, Laramie).

⁵⁰Sturgis to H. G. Balsh, June 10, 1880, Letters of Club Members.

⁵¹Sturgis to Clarence King, June 12, 1880, Letters of Club Members.

the city, but only eight or nine of these could be considered natives.⁵²

The young aristocrats who founded the Club were very careful, however, not to antagonize the local population by any openly stated policy of exclusiveness. A Sun reporter, in an interview with one of the founders, was led to believe that "any respectable person who is twenty-one years old or over can become a member. . . . It will not be controlled exclusively by stockmen or any other class of business man. . . . In short, it is intended to make it a pleasant place for our own citizens, and for visitors to our city."⁵³

The character of the Club building was largely the result of the ideas of Club Secretary William Sturgis, who was determined to recreate an eastern club in this western setting. The two-storey, brick edifice featured a mansard roof and tower, and a skylight over the main hallway. The exterior of the building looked more like a modern country club than a downtown club. A wide veranda and hitching posts completed two sides of the building, and a small frame cottage in the rear housed the servants. In the interior,

⁵²J. M. Carey, A. H. Swan, A. R. Converse, I. C. Whipple, N. R. Davis, A. H. Reel, J. C. Kingman, and the Sturgis brothers. As the secretary of the Club, the attitude of William Sturgis, however, seems to have been that of a young aristocratic immigrant rather than that of a native. For a list of members, see Cheyenne Club, By-Laws, House Rules, Officers and Members, and Articles of Incorporation of the Cheyenne Club (Cheyenne, 1881).

⁵³Sun, July 28, 1880.

the main floor was divided into four equal areas--the smoking, billiard, reading, and dining rooms. The second floor consisted of six large and eight small bedrooms, and a large bath which featured hot and cold water. The basement housed the service facilities: a wine cellar and a kitchen with a dumb waiter to hoist provisions to the dining room above. The cost of the building and lot, \$12,000, was raised by a bond issue taken up by members and by a first mortgage. The interior furnishings, which cost about \$12,000, were partially paid for by the initiation fee of \$100. In 1884, after the Club increased its membership and raised its initiation fee to \$150, the clubhouse was extensively remodelled under George Rainsford's direction. Open fireplaces and panelling were added to the rooms on the main floor, and the dining room, which seated seventy-five, was redecorated in stained wood and Japanese paper.⁵⁴ Visitors were unanimous in extolling the Club's appearance. Owen Wister, who visited the Club in 1885, wrote: "No wonder they like the club at Cheyenne It's the pearl of the prairies."⁵⁵

Members were able to entertain their guests in a

⁵⁴Minutes of Cheyenne Club Meetings, June 7, August 13, 1880; May 18, 1882. Sturgis to S. F. Emmons, August 5, 1880; Sturgis to H. Oelrich, September 15, 1880; Sturgis to F. E. Warren, March 4, April 8, 1881, Letters of Club Members. Leader, July 25, 1880. Sun, January 1, 28, April 10, 1881; April 19, 1884. Spring, Hereford Journal, XXXVIII, 198, 202. Robinson, "Northwest Architecture . . . ," pp. 67-70.

⁵⁵"Wister Journal," July 3, 1885.

royal manner, and the Club became legendary for the "ease and luxury of its cafe and dining room."⁵⁶ In contrast to most eastern gentlemen's clubs, women were admitted to the dining room; members rejected a proposal to construct a separate dining room where women would be admitted on the grounds that the main dining room was suitable for this purpose. Much of the credit for the excellent fare the Club provided went to the servants, headed by the steward, Francois de Prato, and his wife, who was the head cook. Members were most impressed by their "French" servants, and usually neglected to mention that de Prato and his wife were actually French Canadians from Ottawa.⁵⁷

In addition to the excellent ordinary meals, the Club also ordered pickled eels and other fancy foods from dealers in New York, Chicago, and San Francisco. Members were able to choose from the best in liquors and wines. The Club usually stocked barrels of rye and bourbon whiskey, a variety of gins, rums, brandies, and ales, as well as a fairly wide selection of wines in the wine cellar--Mumms, Giesler, and Heidseck champagne; Liebfraumilch and Niersteiner rhinewines; casks of claret, burgundy, sherry, and

⁵⁶ Council Bluffs Nonpareil, quoted by Sun, November 9, 1881.

⁵⁷ Minutes of Cheyenne Club Meetings, August 13, 1880. Sturgis to S. F. Emmons, August 15, 1880; Sturgis to N. Pearce, February 16, 1881; Sturgis to E. E. Fisher, November 27, 1882, Letters of Club Members. Sun, April 19, 1884.

port. Members apparently insisted on superior quality. The Club secretary occasionally complained to dealers, for example, that their last shipment of sherry "lacked almost entirely the fine bouquet of our earlier purchases," or that "the gentlemen here complain that . . . the cigars are too dark."⁵⁸

The young immigrants to the cattle business appear to have used the Club's bar and restaurant facilities extensively. For example, in a two and one-half-year period (August, 1882, to March, 1885), Fred deBillier and Hubert Teschemacher, spent \$1,734.15 and \$1,675.90 respectively.⁵⁹ These figures are even more revealing when one considers that deBillier and Teschemacher spent their summers on their northern range and some of the winters in the East.

Social life at the Club was a combination of Victorian morality and western informality. The Club's rules were extremely puritanical by Cheyenne's standards, but the Club still became associated with pleasant company and geniality. The rules were those common to eastern gentlemen's clubs. For example, gambling for money was not permitted in the public reading rooms of the Club; smoking was not permitted

⁵⁸ Sturgis to Park and Tilford, February 13, May 19, August 10, 1882; Sturgis to W. Schniffler, May 18, 1882, Letters of Club Members. Also a host of other letters in this collection to producers of fine food and drink.

⁵⁹ Compiled from Cheyenne Club Members' Ledgers, C, WSGA Collection.

in the dining room between 7 A.M. and 7 P.M., and pipe smoking was not allowed in any public room; liquor was not served in the reading room; no games were allowed on Sunday. A member could be expelled from the Club for refusing to conform to these by-laws and house rules. Five other grounds for expulsion were listed:

1. Drunkenness within the precincts of the club to a degree which shall be offensive to members or injurious to the standing of the club.
2. Profanity or obscenity.
3. A blow struck in a quarrel within the precincts of the club.
4. Cheating at cards or any game played in the club house.
5. The commission of a criminal act, or an act so dishonorable in social life as to unfit the⁶⁰ guilty person for the society of gentlemen.

The Victorian ethics prescribed by these rules were apparently not introduced into the frontier society without some labor pains. After only a few months, the Club's Board of Governors strongly condemned the "many and gross violations of the Club By-Laws and House Rules, notably by boisterous and disorderly conduct, by the introduction to the Club House of guests of improper character and by gambling." They charged that such practices would "inevitably work to the injury if not to the destruction of the Club."⁶¹ The

⁶⁰ Cheyenne Club, By-Laws, House Rules . . . (1881), no page Nos.

⁶¹ Minutes of Meetings of Board of Governors of the Cheyenne Club, October 20, 1881, Cheyenne Club Collection.

officers of the Club, therefore, did their utmost to uphold their stated standards. Several members were expelled from the Club because their conduct in the clubhouse was "detrimental to the comfort of members and injurious to the reputation of the Club."⁶² One applicant was refused membership because of several members' complaints "touching your character as a gentleman in connection with certain financial transactions."⁶³ Less serious offences were penalized by suspension from the Club for a specified period of time. Frank Kemp, for example, was suspended for five months for calling J. M. Carey a "G-d d-n s-n of a b-h," as the Club's minutes recorded it.⁶⁴ The most publicized disciplinary action involved two influential members, the brothers Charles and Harry Oelrichs. Charles was one of the twelve original members and Harry was a governor and member of the House Committee. Apparently Charles struck the Club bartender during an argument, and Harry used abusive language when hearing of the affray. They each received relatively minor penalties; Charles was suspended for thirty days, and Harry censured. But Harry tore down the notice of these resolutions from the Club bulletin board, and Charles wrote a

⁶² Sturgis to G. R. Lynch, July 8, 1881, and Sturgis to Robert Emmett, July 8, 1881, Letters of Club Members.

⁶³ Sturgis to Richard Ashworth, June 22, 1882, Letters of Club Members.

⁶⁴ Minutes of Meetings of Board of Governors of the Cheyenne Club, November 7, 8, 1884.

letter, "couched in dictatorial and disrespectful language," to the governors. As a result, both were suspended for a year.⁶⁵

On the positive side, the Club's atmosphere was usually one of gentility and good humor, and many accounts attest to the cordiality that existed between members. Charles Guernsey recalled an evening in 1883 when the British members gave a dinner for the American members. Sixty-six bottles of champagne and twenty bottles of red wine were consumed by the forty-one members who attended; little wonder that there "was much singin', speech makin' and handshakin'."⁶⁶ After he had entertained a group at the Club, the Irishman, Horace Plunkett, wrote in his diary: "I never saw such a cordial drunk. No one was beastly drunk. The singing and speaking were humorous and good."⁶⁷ John Clay was impressed by the cosmopolitan and friendly atmosphere of the Club:

Under its roof reticent Britisher, cautious Scot, exuberant Irishman, careful Yankee, confident Bostonian, worldly New Yorker, chivalrous Southerner and delightful Canadian all found a welcome home.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ Minutes of Meetings of Board of Governors of the Cheyenne Club, September 16, 21, 22, 1882. Sturgis to Charles Oelrichs, September 16, 21, 1882; Sturgis to Harry Oelrichs, September 16, 21, 1882, Letters of Club Members.

⁶⁶ Guernsey, Wyoming Cowboy Days, p. 74.

⁶⁷ Quoted by Margaret Digby, Horace Plunkett, An Anglo-American Irishman (Oxford, 1949), p. 27.

⁶⁸ John Clay, My Life on the Range (Chicago, 1924), pp. 53-54, 73.

Some members also used the Club to entertain territorial government officials during sessions of the legislature, as the Club was ideal for large receptions and formal dances.⁶⁹

Like other gentlemen's clubs, this club offered a variety of diversions to its members. Some of the members regularly used the tennis courts next to the clubhouse, or played chess on the wide veranda. Billiards and cards were available in the game room. The reading room provided the major New York and Chicago daily newspapers, as well as such periodicals as Atlantic Monthly, Harpers, and Century. Members could also use the facilities of the Denver Club when in Denver or the Laramie City Club when in Laramie under a reciprocal agreement. Joint social events were occasionally planned. The Club, thus, provided the immigrant cattlemen and some of the natives with the best in urban living. No wonder that a young Englishman remarked that "cowpunching, as seen from the veranda of the Cheyenne Club, was a most attractive proposition."⁷⁰

The Cheyenne Club added an element of sophistication and glamor to the city during the 1880's, even though

⁶⁹Leader, July 25, 1880; July 31, 1884. Sun, August 5, 1881; February 26, 1884.

⁷⁰Quoted by J. B. Thomas in Harry Crane (ed.), Letters from Old Friends and Members of the Wyoming Stock Growers Association (Cheyenne, 1923), p. 7. Richard Trimble to his mother, June 7, 1885; March 6, 1887, Trimble Collection (Western History Research Center, University of Wyoming, Laramie). Spring, Hereford Journal, XXXVIII, 207.

the Club's pleasures were limited to a select group of gentlemen. Another example of Cheyenne's new urbanity was a handsome Opera House which bore eloquent witness to the city's prosperity and to its desire to keep up with other cities. The Opera House was hardly a luxury, for the other theaters in the city had degenerated to a disastrous low. First-rate touring companies no longer stopped regularly in the city because of poor accommodations. If they did stop for a one-night stand, few residents cared to come out to the old Recreation Hall to put up with the poor ventilation, the closely packed chairs, and to look at the same scenery which had been used by every company for the past ten years. But even this inadequate theater closed its doors in 1880 to become (perhaps appropriately) a stable and carriage house.⁷¹

Another theater, usually known as the Dramatic Theater, which occasionally offered legitimate fare, closed its doors a year later to become a meat market. The only place in the city for theater after this was a rather disreputable variety theater, Chase's. Touring companies used its facilities, but residents were horrified to think that this place symbolized Cheyenne's theatrical situation. The construction of an Opera House, which had been discussed for several years, was now pushed ahead quickly to fill the vacuum.⁷²

⁷¹Sun, July 8, August 26, October 12, 1880; May 16, 1882.

⁷²Sun, April 16, May 6, 20, October 19, 27, 1881.

As was usual in most western communities, the Opera House was financed by a group of citizens who bought shares in a company formed for that purpose. Carey, Warren, and Post provided both prestige and financial stability to the project by pledging \$1,000 each. Carey was chosen president, Thomas Sturgis became the vice-president, and Henry Hay, the treasurer. Construction began during the summer of 1881 on a site between the business and residential sections of town (the corner of Hill and Seventeenth Streets). The total cost of the building, including the land and the furniture, was over \$40,000. Stock to cover this amount, however, was easily sold.⁷³

The three-storey stone and brick edifice included a large auditorium which took up the major portion of the building from cellar to roof. The building also included other rooms which housed the territorial library and a smaller auditorium, called Library Hall, which was used for dances, church fairs, and the like. The main auditorium was of magnificent proportions for a city of Cheyenne's population for it seated 1,000. The auditorium's furnishings were luxurious, with elaborately carved oak and maple woodwork; red silk plush up-

⁷³ Sun, April 13, 16, 20, June 24, September 9, 1881. Report of stockholders of Opera Company printed in Sun, July 12, 1882. William Campton Bell, "A History of the Theatrical Activities of Cheyenne, Wyoming" (unpublished Master's thesis, Northwestern University, 1935), p. 141. Comments about the small city's financing of the inevitable Opera House are in Lewis Atherton, Main Street on the Middle Border (Bloomington, 1954), p. 137.

holstery was used liberally. A grand chandelier hung some thirty feet from the floor. The large stage (25 x 63 feet) was the pride of the city. It was equipped with modern rigging and scenery; six dressing rooms beneath the stage provided royal accommodations compared to anything performers had known before in Cheyenne.⁷⁴

The opening of the Opera House on May 25, 1882, heralded a new day for the performing arts in the city. The fashionably-dressed, opening-night audience was treated to a performance of the French comic opera Olivette, by the celebrated Comley-Barton Opera Company, symbolizing the improved quality of performers the city could now attract. Fortunately for the city's theater-goers, the construction of the Opera House coincided with a new boom in road shows throughout the country. Besides catching many of the major shows on their way to and from the West Coast, Cheyenne also became part of the Denver theatrical circuit, made up of Denver, Leadville, Colorado Springs, Golden, Central City, Georgetown, and Fort Collins.

The total result was more and better theater. Almost all of the leading performers in the country appeared on the stage of the Opera House during the next ten years. The high-water mark, according to a study of Cheyenne's theater, was

⁷⁴ Cheyenne City Directory, Residence and Business, 1884-1885, comp. A. R. Johnson (Cheyenne, 1885), pp. 15-16. Sun, May 26, 1882.

the performance of Etelka Gerster in the opera La Somnambula in 1884. Others who followed her in the next five years included Edwin Booth in Hamlet, Sarah Bernhardt in Fedora, and Madame Modjeska in Much Ado About Nothing.⁷⁵

Local residents were generally awed by these celebrities, but bad performances received hard treatment from the press. Lily Langtry's performance in Pygmalion and Galatea in the summer of 1884 was roundly criticized by both major newspapers. The Sun concluded that "the immense audience testified to the truth of the maxim that notoriety is greater than reputation and judicious advertisements better than merit."⁷⁶ Langtry set the public buzzing for several days by dashing about the city with Harry Oelrichs, who had known her in New York.⁷⁷

Cheyenne's residents continued to enjoy the same diversions as Americans anywhere in the country during the 1880's. The rodeo, later to become associated particularly with the city, was still unknown. Horse racing remained the most popular sporting activity. Several of the wealthy cattlemen (among the most successful were N. R. Davis, R. S.

⁷⁵Bell, "A History of the Theatrical Activities . . . , " pp. 141-52. Sun, April 26, 1881; May 26, 27, 28, 1882. Leader, May 26, 27, 1882; March 5, 1884. Glenn Hughes, A History of the American Theater, 1700-1950 (New York, 1951), p. 288.

⁷⁶Sun, June 10, 1884. Leader, June 10, 1884.

⁷⁷Sun, June 10, 22, 1884.

Van Tassell, and Harry Oelrichs) bred fine thoroughbreds and competed annually for the Cheyenne Club Cup. The Sunday afternoon concerts at Fort Russell continued to draw hundreds of residents, and the balls at the Fort were still among the city's major social events. The lodges prospered as never before: in 1885 the Masons reported 432 members; the Odd Fellows, 576; and the Knights of Pythias, 375.⁷⁸

While sports and social activities blossomed in these prosperous years, Cheyenne intellectually remained a small frontier city. Residents avidly read newspapers and magazines (circulation of the local dailies was estimated at 2,200) but efforts by various groups to found a public library met with repeated failures. Ex-Governor J. W. Hoyt was the most persistent advocate of what he termed, "The Need of Culture in Cheyenne." He spoke to various groups, opened his home for meetings, and founded an organization with the optimistic name of the Wyoming Academy of Science, Arts and Letters. Others involved were J. R. Whitehead, E. A. Slack, and Thomas Sturgis. This group wished to preserve the Territory's historical and scientific records and build a library, but a general lack of support prevented any real accomplishment. The wealthy cattlemen, some of whom had respectable private

⁷⁸ Sun, February 25, October 15, 1880; May 20, 1881; January 4, June 8, 1882. Cheyenne State Leader, July 15, 1917. Lucy Ellen Gannett, Lucy's Girlhood Days (Denver, n.d.), pp. 7-11. U. S., Congress, House, "Annual Report of the Governor, Wyoming Territory," Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 49th Cong., 1st Sess., 1885, Exec. Doc. 1, p. 85.

libraries, apparently were not interested in endowing a public library. As was usual in small western communities, most of what could be designated as intellectual or cultural was carried on by women's organizations. Among the many groups were a small literary club called the Queen Anne Club and a group called the School for Scandal which read and discussed the latest novels.⁷⁹

While the community's interest in intellectual and cultural activities may have seemed rather feeble, residents saw to it that their children were given a continually better education. The physical facilities and the quality of education were probably as good in Cheyenne as anywhere in the territories. Because Wyoming was still a territory and not a state, school boards did not have any revenue from the sale or lease of land put aside for school use, but education was financed solely by taxation.⁸⁰ Perhaps for this reason, the school board meetings were usually well attended

79

Sun, May 12, 1880; November 27, December 1, 1881; January 14, December 21, 1882; January 13, April 15, 19, May 9, 19, August 1, 1884. Robert C. Morris to Andrew Carnegie, December 4, 1899, in Robert C. Morris (ed.), The Carnegie Public Library (Cheyenne, 1902), p. 32. Gannett, Lucy's Girlhood Days, p. 12.

80

"Dictation of Posey S. Wilson," Cheyenne, 1885 (Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley), p. 6. For an example of the constant complaints to the federal government about the difficulties of financing education, see U.S., Congress, House, "Annual Report of the Governor, Wyoming Territory," Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 49th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1886, Exec. Doc. 1, pp. 1016-17.

by the public with the large taxpayers such as Carey and Warren taking an active part in the discussions. The increased tax revenue available because of the huge herds of cattle in the county, however, compensated for the lack of revenue from other sources and enabled local officials to expand the educational facilities. Two wings of four rooms each were added to the original four-room school house. Eleven of these rooms were classrooms and one housed a library of 800 volumes. In addition, two other schools were built--the West End school and the Johnson school south of the Union Pacific tracks. The total enrollment of these three public schools was nearly 1,000 by 1885. After 1884 some of the responsibility for education was assumed by the local Catholics who opened two schools; one a parochial school and the other the ambitious \$50,000 Academy of the Holy Child Jesus. These two Catholic schools had a combined enrollment of about 200. The parochial school closed in 1891 because of financial difficulties, but the academy continued to provide separate school education for the city's Catholic children.⁸¹

During these years the efficiency of Cheyenne's

⁸¹F. E. Warren to J. M. Carey, February 4, 1886, Wyoming Territory, Governor Warren's Letter Press Books, Vol. I (Wyoming State Archives and Historical Department, Cheyenne). Cheyenne City Directory . . . 1885, pp. 12-13. Sun, May 2, 4, 1880; December 23, 1882; December 12, 1884. Patrick A. McGovern. History of the Diocese of Cheyenne (Cheyenne, 1941), pp. 41-44.

educational system was probably approaching national standards. While only a small proportion of children attended schools of any kind in many rural parts of the Territory, almost every child in Cheyenne was enrolled. The average attendance of those enrolled was still considerably lower than in eastern urban centers (65% compared to about 80%), but this low attendance was about average for western cities. The length of the school term was also being extended, now averaging about 121 days compared to about 145 days in eastern cities of similar size.⁸²

Residents took particular interest and pride in the local high school, long the only one in the Territory. The course of studies seems to have been an imposing one, combining the classical approach of Principal N. E. Stark and the increasingly popular physical sciences:

- 1st year--higher arithmetic, primary algebra, physics, Latin grammar & composition.
- 2nd year--higher algebra, bookkeeping, zoology, Latin reading.
- 3rd year--geometry, zoology, Cicero, physical geography.
- 4th year--English literature, psychology, Virgil, astronomy.⁸³

Public interest in the high school's affairs led to a remarkable amount of public scrutiny of its methods. One

⁸²These figures are compiled from data sent to the Bureau of Education in Washington and reported in U.S., Congress, House, Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 51st Cong., 1st Sess., 1889, Exec. Doc. 1. The year 1889 was chosen for comparative purposes as it is the first year the Bureau received figures from Wyoming.

⁸³Cheyenne City Directory . . . 1885, pp. 12-13.

reason given for this interest was the fact that this would likely be the highest education most local children would receive.⁸⁴ A major controversy, for example, concerned Principal Stark's educational philosophy. The editor of the Leader and several school board members publicly complained that while Stark's character was "unimpeachable," he was "slower in his methods than a more modern educator would be." While they called for his resignation, the board eventually upheld Stark.⁸⁵ Part of the problem was Stark's emphasis on a classical education; another was a supposedly low enrollment in the high school. An examination of the enrollment figures, however, indicates that the high school's proportion of the total public school enrollment (7.5%) was actually higher than in most other western cities.⁸⁶

Like the schools, the city's churches exuded social stability and economic prosperity during these years. Raising the "banner of Christ" no longer required the courage it did in the frontier city of 1867-1868. Problems faced by churches in larger urban centers were unknown in Cheyenne.

⁸⁴ This situation changed in 1887 when the University of Wyoming, located in Laramie, began to offer courses.

⁸⁵ Leader, August 20, 21, 23, 1884.

⁸⁶ Comparative figures indicate that Cheyenne's proportion was higher than that in any Colorado City; much higher than that in the largest city in Montana, Butte (3.2%); or even Omaha (3.9%). This generalization is based on figures in Bureau of Education data in House, Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1889.

Church-going had become fashionable, and wealthy cattlemen contributed handsomely. This was especially true in the case of the older, established congregations. The Congregationalists and Presbyterians had become the prestigious congregations, supplanting the Episcopalians, and both had memberships considerably in excess of 100. The Congregationalists boasted a \$21,000 church, and also supported a mission known as the South Side Chapel or the Railroad Chapel which served the growing number of residents (mostly railroad employees) who lived on the south side of the Union Pacific's tracks. Among those on the Congregationalist's Board of Trustees were the cattlemen Thomas Sturgis, N. R. Davis, and A. H. Reel. The Presbyterians had a \$17,500 church and a substantial membership, including trustees such as A. R. Converse, A. H. Swan, and Erasmus Nagle. Even the relatively new congregation organized by the Baptists had a "somewhat gothic" brick building by 1881 and a membership of eighty by 1885. Most of these congregations had thriving Sunday schools; the largest was that of the Congregationalists, with 300 enrolled.⁸⁷

⁸⁷ Clerk's Minutes, Vol. II, December 11, 1882 (First Congregational Church Archives, Cheyenne). Maurine Carley, A History of the First Congregational Church of Cheyenne, 1869-1957 (Cheyenne, 1957), pp. 6-8. Minutes of Session, August 4, 1883; March 17, June 17, 1884 (First Presbyterian Church Archives, Cheyenne). Katherine Morton, Seventy-Five Years of History, 1869-1944 (Cheyenne, 1944), p. 10. House, "Annual Report of the Governor, Wyoming Territory," Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1885, pp. 1199-1200. Leader December 3, 1882. Sun, October 9, 1881; June 6, July 13, 1884.

The success of the established congregations, however, was not matched by those churches which served the non-English speaking immigrants and the Negroes. A Lutheran church, organized in 1884 by German and Scandinavian residents, usually had no regular pastor and could not afford to build a church. Like other congregations, they received two lots from the Union Pacific with the usual stipulation that a building soon be erected. One of the trustees is said to have dug a hole in the ground and occasionally slept there to fulfill the legal requirements. A small church was constructed in 1888 with funds from the regional synod. The city's Negroes split into two congregations in 1877: the original Methodists and the Baptists. The Methodist's congregation, which had "witnessed an ebb and flow almost every twenty-four hours, something similar to the Red Sea," according to the Leader, dwindled to a membership of only ten by 1882. The Baptists were able to build a small church in 1884.⁸⁸

Many of the urban vices which had been particularly exciting in their frontier version had died a natural death by the 1880's and the local churches settled down to combatting more mundane sins. Most of the Protestant churches sponsored meetings of the Women's Christian Temperance Union and rather half-heartedly pressed for passage of a local prohibition law. Efforts were also still being made, unsuccessful-

⁸⁸ St. Paul's Lutheran Church, 70 Years (Cheyenne, n.d.). Leader, December 3, 1882. Sun, May 8, 1884.

fully, to get residents to observe the Sabbath.⁸⁹ While some of the Protestant population enjoyed periodic revival meetings, the churches generally appear to have become rather staid and dignified in their approach. Some residents were reported to be mourning the "degeneracy of the present time, and quoting as proof of this, the indifference of ministers and layment alike to a thorough stirring of dry bones."⁹⁰

Judging by the state of the city's social institutions by the 1880's, the city had considerably changed since the rousing days of 1867-1868. That a certain amount of urban maturity should have been achieved before the relatively young age of twenty years was characteristic of the rapid Americanization of the West. Many of the residents of the mature city had been in the city from its earliest days. By 1884 the Old Pioneers Club boasted ninety-five members (the requirements for membership had been slightly relaxed with residence by July 1, 1868, rather than January 1, 1868, now needed). It included such well-known figures as Whitehead, Kuykendall, Murrin, Bresnahan, Dyer, and Corlett, all of whom had been influential in moulding a permanent and prosperous city.⁹¹ While these pioneers had not seen their dreams for a great city fulfilled, they could, nevertheless,

⁸⁹ Sun, March 6, 10, 19, 24, 1880.

⁹⁰ "A Member" to the Editor, Sun, January 3, 1882.

⁹¹ Sun, January 27, February 14, 1884.

take pride in their accomplishments. The entire West had grown up during these two decades, and cities like Cheyenne were in the vanguard of modernization and progress.

CONCLUSION: CHEYENNE AND THE URBAN FRONTIER

The urban frontier was one of the vital processes of America's westward expansion. Towns and cities introduced a dynamic and aggressive element into the Rocky Mountain and Great Plains region and helped transform this wilderness in a generation. Although his main interest was the rural frontier, the significance of the western city was recognized by Frederick Jackson Turner. In his notes for a lecture in 1902 on the occupation of the Pacific Coast and Great Plains he wrote:

One of the best ways to study the development of the North West, and the South West . . . is to take city development. Take for example Buffalo, Pittsburg, St. Louis, Chicago, New Orleans and so on. Study the way in which these cities grew, what economic forces worked upon them; how they became the metropolis of the particular region in which each of them was located and how it reacted upon the area. These nuclei of economic and social life show that life in its intensity in a peculiar and interesting way.¹

Several continuing themes run through the complexity of western urban development. The detailed examination of one small western community illustrates some of these important features. One of the most basic of these themes is the colonial nature of western urban life. The status of the cities, of course, simply reflected the colonial status of

¹ Quoted by Norman Harper, "The Rural and Urban Frontiers," Historical Studies, Australia and New Zealand, XL (May, 1963), 413.

the entire West during the post-Civil War period. In these years the West was being "constructed" by the industrialized East and Mid-West in a fashion somewhat similar to the way in which the South was being "reconstructed."

The nature of this colonial relationship is illustrated by the relationship between the small western city and a giant, eastern-based corporation. The decisions and actions of the Union Pacific had given life to Cheyenne. The young city lived and breathed because of the railroad; the trains were the major link with reality, the contact with the outside world; and the community paced its life by their coming and going. The city owed the presence of a nearby army post as well as its position as territorial capital to the parental care of one interested company official, Grenville Dodge.

The necessity of relying on this particular corporation, however, placed the little community in a precarious position, at the mercy of forces beyond its control. The Union Pacific at this time was afflicted with internal power struggles and financial difficulties. In addition, the management was usually not interested in building up local traffic. The total results for the city included wildly fluctuating and generally exorbitant freight rates, and a series of broken promises. Cheyenne could not have existed without the railroad, yet the company's policies hindered the growth of the city as a commercial center.

The small western city's colonial status was also

apparent in the position it held in the general metropolitan system.² Cities like Cheyenne were dominated by a number of larger cities on the eastern edge of the plains and ultimately by Chicago and New York. The pattern of economic development in Cheyenne's case emphasized this domination. The lack of a large local market practically ruled out any attempt at manufacturing. Therefore, the city relied almost solely on commerce. During the 1880's Cheyenne's increasing reliance on a one-crop economy accentuated the city's dependence on New York and Boston financiers and tied the city's prosperity to the vagaries of the national market as symbolized by the Chicago stockyards.

In spite of the importance of the metropolitan relationship, local conditions also affected the city's economic health. The local cycles of boom and depression often did not correspond to the national picture. Cheyenne had been deep in a depression for several years before the panic of 1873 struck. A regional factor, a gold rush, stimulated

² An important early statement of the metropolitan concept and its application to Minneapolis-St. Paul in particular is in N. S. B. Gras, An Introduction to Economic History (New York, 1922), pp. 299-314. See also: Blake McKelvey, The Urbanization of America, 1860-1915 (New Brunswick, N.J., 1963), p. 34; Charles N. Glaab and A. Theodore Brown, A History of Urban America (New York, 1967), pp. 170-76. For interesting comparisons of the Canadian and American experience, see: W. L. Morton, "The Significance of Site in the Settlement of the American and Canadian Wests," Agricultural History, XXV (April, 1951), 97-104; J. M. S. Careless, "Frontierism, Metropolitanism, and Canadian History," Canadian Historical Review, XXV (March, 1954), 17-18.

economic recovery by 1875 while the depression was still being felt nationally. The local decline following the height of the Black Hills excitement came when the national economy was on the rise. The fantastic expansion as well as the sudden decline of the cattle industry mirrored outside trends, but local conditions were also involved in the rise and fall of the industry.

Like any small community in any part of the country, Cheyenne looked to the larger metropolitan centers for a variety of social services and cultural leadership. This was evident, for example, in the field of information. The local press relied heavily on telegraphic dispatches of eastern or European news. Most of the front page of each local paper was made up of these dispatches or of reprints of articles from the major eastern papers. The local churches furnish another example. Most were founded as missions of established church organizations, and outside guidance and financial support were necessary for several years. In many other areas of culture and entertainment, such as the theater, Cheyenne depended on the products of the major eastern centers.

A second theme, a ramification of the first, is the role of the small western city as an agent of westward expansion. While appearing to be little more than pawns in the metropolitan arrangement, these communities often displayed remarkable aggressiveness in their struggle for regional leadership or survival. Some of this aggressiveness was

stimulated by the rivalry of other aspiring centers. Most communities hoped at the very least to become the commercial center of their region; at best, the largest city between Chicago and San Francisco. Verbal battles between rival communities were often as exciting to western residents as the bloodiest Indian battles or the well-publicized confrontations between outlaws and peace officers. Western urban rivalry was more than a matter of community pride, although this was usually involved; it was a matter of self-preservation with the losers perhaps dwindling to insignificance or even extinction.

Soon after its founding, Cheyenne attempted unsuccessfully to replace Denver as the commercial center of the mountain and plains region. Forced to accept a secondary position, Cheyenne continued to promote actively its interests, particularly in relation to the north. During the Black Hills gold rush, the host of rivals included Sioux City, Iowa; Sidney, Nebraska; and Bismarck, Dakota; all of which hoped to become the major entrepôt of trade to the Hills. Rivalry with Laramie for commercial hegemony within Wyoming as well as for the location of the territorial capital also spurred on local ambition.

In addition to this urban rivalry, the cities located on the semi-arid Great Plains were goaded into unusually aggressive behaviour because of the uncongenial environment. Cities founded on other frontiers, such as those in the

Ohio Valley, for example, had stable agricultural hinterlands surrounding them soon after their establishment. This had stimulated their development as commercial centers.³ But the semi-arid nature of much of the northern plains made agricultural settlement of any real consequence extremely slow and difficult. In order to survive, a city had to learn to live by its wits. Carving out an existence in these forbidding surroundings required unusual community vigor and activity.⁴

As Robert Dykstra has demonstrated in the case of the Kansas cowtowns, these small western communities, as human groups, possessed certain human characteristics, among them ambition and a sense of purpose.⁵ The collective approach amounted to a common "problem-solving" experience. Community action of this kind in Cheyenne was initiated in a manner similar to that described by A. Theodore Brown in early Kansas

³Richard Wade, The Urban Frontier, Pioneer Life in Early Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Lexington, Louisville, and St. Louis (Chicago, [1959] 1964). Bayrd Still, "Patterns of Mid-Nineteenth Century Urbanization in the Middle West," MVHR, XXVIII (September, 1941), 187-206.

⁴For examples of this kind of community activity, see the description of the early Dakota towns, Yankton, Sioux Falls, and Pembina, in Howard R. Lamar, Dakota Territory, 1861-1889, A Study of Frontier Politics (New Haven, [1956] 1966), pp. 28-66. The communities aggressively promoted their interests, particularly by pressing for federal government subsidization in the form of army posts, railroad grants, and political and administrative offices.

⁵Robert Dykstra, "The Cattle Town Experience: Social Process and the Cattle Trading Centers, 1867-1885" (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, State University of Iowa, 1964), pp. 180-206.

City where "the activities of various men with disparate interests suddenly begin to coalesce, and the new entity, a city, begins to develop an individuality of its own--to become, in fact, a distinct urban enterprise."⁶ Giving voice to these common aspirations was the role of the local press. Promotionally-minded editors like Baker and Slack constantly tried to rally support for the community's projects.

In the years up to 1880 the commercial class determined the goals which the city set itself. Community leadership within this context was fairly broadly based and decisions were often arrived at in public meetings. The frontier may be said to have had an effect here for the disorganized state of society allowed a wide participation in public affairs and a diffusion of leadership. Many of those in prominent positions had no previous leadership experience.⁷ Democracy in decision making was not as obvious once the community's basic structure had become stabilized by the 1880's. Decisions affecting the community were

⁶A. Theodore Brown, Frontier Community: Kansas City to 1870 (Columbia, Mo., 1963), pp. 88-89. In this regard see also: Charles N. Glaab, Kansas City and the Railroads: Community Policy in the Growth of a Regional Metropolis (Madison, 1962), p. 172; and Still, MVHR, XXVIII, 190.

⁷This aspect of the frontier's significance is well argued by Stanley Elkins and Eric McKittrick, "A Meaning for Turner's Frontier, Part I: Democracy in the Old Northwest," Political Science Quarterly, LXIX (September, 1954), 323-39. Similar findings were reported by Merle Curti and Associates, The Making of an American Community, A Case Study of Democracy in a Frontier County (Stanford, 1958), pp. 417-41.

increasingly made by a small group of wealthy stockgrowers.

Much of the community's collective activity was directed toward creating a hinterland out of the northern part of Wyoming Territory. The countryside surrounding Cheyenne promised little in the way of an agricultural population, but the north seemed to offer fertile land for farming and ranching, as well as the exciting prospect of gold. The first major attempt in this direction was the organization of the Big Horn expedition. This abortive venture was followed by renewed efforts to open the north. These finally bore fruit when the rush of gold seekers to the Black Hills overwhelmed Indian and army resistance to white man's exploitation of the region. A major result was the rapid extension of the stockgrowing and agricultural frontiers into the northern portion of Wyoming Territory. Thus, by its efforts to extend its sphere of influence, this small western city actually facilitated the agricultural development of the West.

The expansion of the cattle frontier into the north contributed to Cheyenne's status as a metropolitan center in its own right. Many of those whose herds roamed the north made the city their residence. The Wyoming Stock Growers Association, centered in the city and dominated by local cattlemen, administered the regional industry with an iron hand. The city's role as a social center for the stockmen of the region was brought into focus by the Cheyenne Club. Financially, the local banks provided part of the capital

for the cattle industry's expansion.

Less successful were community efforts to enlarge Cheyenne's hinterland by means of new railroad connections. As far as the Union Pacific was concerned, the surrounding country did not have the potential productivity to warrant a number of branch lines. The projects of less realistic local boosters usually never got beyond the planning stage. The little city simply did not have the financial resources to construct railroads by itself. In two instances where local voters granted subsidies to branch lines (the Colorado Central and the Cheyenne and Northern, both controlled by the Union Pacific), neither turned out to be a good investment for taxpayers in terms of increasing the city's commercial domain.

Confronted by a powerful but indifferent corporation, dynamic rivals for regional hegemony, and an unrewarding environment, Cheyenne's residents were forced to take vigorous action to sustain their community. While not as successful as their counterparts in Denver, Cheyenne's businessmen had a regional reputation for drive and hustle; a well-deserved reputation, as smaller rivals like Laramie and Sidney discovered. This entrepreneurial aggressiveness was basic to the city's character. The suggestion of Louis Hartz that America was a bourgeois fragment of the larger whole of Europe could perhaps be adapted to this materialistic western society as exemplified by Cheyenne. In this

respect, Cheyenne might be considered an ultra-bourgeois fragment of those parts of the country from which its residents had migrated.⁸

A third theme can be found in the western city's role as an agent of acculturation. Life in a frontier city was certainly crude compared with that in larger centers, yet an examination of social development in a frontier city like Cheyenne reveals a remarkable degree of continuity with institutions elsewhere in the country.⁹ Several factors were involved in this continuity: the unconscious cultural baggage of the immigrants; the conscious desire of these newcomers to reproduce the customs and institutions they had known in other parts of the country; the possibility of constant contact with established society because of the modern transportation and communication systems.

The collective experience of the immigrants went into the making of the mosaic of the frontier city's society. The recent arrivals represented a variety of American and European traditions, but most of them were native American, born in the Middle Atlantic and the North Central States.

⁸ Louis Hartz, The Founding of New Societies, Studies in the History of the United States, Latin America, South Africa, Canada and Australia (New York, 1964), pp. 3-10, 103-10.

⁹ The best general discussion of institutional continuity is in Earl Pomeroy, "Toward a Reorientation of Western History: Continuity and Environment," MVHR, XLI (March, 1955), 579-600.

Some of them moved west in stages to states like Iowa, Missouri, Nebraska, and Illinois before coming to Cheyenne.

The desire to imitate the customs and institutions of the older societies was one of the characteristic features of the urban frontier. This tendency was evident from the earliest months when residents adopted the governmental form and the city laws of Denver, a city some of them had just vacated.¹⁰ Any major improvements were preceded by an examination of existing programs elsewhere. The pattern was also apparent in the formation of religious denominations, in the establishment of the educational system, in the organization of groups like the Temperance societies and the Young Men's Christian Association. It was obvious in the way in which James McDaniel consciously styled himself after P. T. Barnum and in the way the cattle barons founded a social club with the professed aim that it be a copy of the gentlemen's clubs in the East. The so-called western or frontier sports later exploited for the sake of the tourist trade were virtually unknown. Residents enjoyed the nationally-popular baseball and horseracing; national fads such as croquet or roller-skating appealed to the city's youth.

A powerful motivation for this conscious imitation was local pride. Western urbanites hoped they might achieve equality with their eastern counterparts if they adopted the

¹⁰The imitation, thus, was not only of eastern centers but also of relatively established frontier communities. This was also apparent later in Deadwood's reliance on Cheyenne.

methods and customs of the East. Thus, one of the reasons for the introduction of electric lighting was to prove that Cheyenne was as progressive as any city in the nation. The Opera House was to reflect the city's cultural maturity. Social events, such as the holding of Open House, seemed consciously designed to show that local residents could match eastern society in style and taste.

The western urban center provided the necessary environment for the rapid proliferation of those trends prevailing in established societies. In Cheyenne's case its role as an agent of acculturation was facilitated by the direct rail connections. Moreover, as the territorial capital, the city became the residence of the territorial officials. Some of these made strenuous efforts to introduce civilized eastern ways to the raw frontier city. Another factor was the army post. The officers stationed there injected an element of eastern sophistication, at least in the social sense, into local society.

The degree to which the traditional social and cultural institutions flowered in the western city was greatly affected by the economic health of the community. The institutions which showed such promise during the prosperous early years withered during the depression of the early 1870's. The municipal government sharply curtailed its activities. Newspapers failed or drastically reduced their size. Cultural activities such as the legitimate theater

almost ceased to exist. Churches floundered for lack of leadership and membership dwindled. During the two boom periods that followed, however, these institutions were rejuvenated. City Council initiated a number of urban improvements, especially the construction of an adequate water system. Newspapers like the Leader and Sun flourished. Theatrical entertainment was revived, particularly after the building of the Opera House during the beef bonanza. The churches found new life: membership grew rapidly, handsome buildings were constructed, and most congregations were able to become self-supporting.

A significant aspect of the close relationship between social and cultural vitality and the community's economic prosperity was the relatively high rate of immigration to the city during the boom periods. Recent arrivals brought with them the prevailing eastern or mid-western customs. For this reason life in Cheyenne had more of a national flavor during the embryonic period of the railroad terminal town than it did during the early 1870's. Without the renewing effect of immigration, the frontier society gradually drifted toward provincialism. The immigration attracted by the gold rush brought a return of a national flavor to social activity. This trend became particularly evident during the cattle boom with the arrival of the wealthy, well-educated Easterners in the city.

The extent to which the frontier environment affected

the imported institutions has long been the subject of controversy.¹¹ There is no question that the traditional institutions were weakened by the social disorganization and social isolation which characterized frontier society.

Judging by Cheyenne's experience, however, there is no evidence that these institutions were basically modified.¹² A distinction must be made between the immigrants' behaviour on the one hand and these institutions as normative systems embodying the values and beliefs the immigrants held important on the other. Behaviour was affected by the lack of social restraint, but the conception of what was desirable was not.¹³ Like the residents of other frontier cities,

11

Frederick Jackson Turner's classic thesis, The Frontier in American History (New York, 1920), which states that the frontier significantly modified the character of individuals and the institutions they brought with them, has greatly influenced much of the writing in western history. For a survey of the voluminous literature on the frontier thesis, see Gene Gressley, "The Turner Thesis--A Problem in Historiography," Agricultural History, XXXII (October, 1958), 227-249.

12

Turner's environmental determinism was applied to the Great Plains region in Walter Prescott Webb, The Great Plains: A Study in Institutions and Environment (Boston, 1931). Webb claimed that "practically every institution that was carried across the ninety-eighth meridian was either broken or remade or else greatly altered." (P. 8.) The result, he believed, quoting John Wesley Powell, was a new "phase of Aryan civilization." (P. vi.) Webb, of course, dealt basically with economic institutions, some of which were modified, and assumed from this that social and political institutions invariably must also have been modified. See the comments by Robert F. Berkhofer, "Space, Time, Culture and the New Frontier," Agricultural History, XXXVIII (January, 1964), 29.

13

For a discussion of this principle, see: Berkhofer,

those in Cheyenne were not interested in social innovation but in maintaining those institutions familiar to them. To a remarkable extent they were successful.¹⁴

The transformation of the chaotic boom town into a stable community supplies a fourth theme. A first step in this direction was the emergence of community consciousness. In Cheyenne this depended partly on a desire for law and order and partly on the competition from other aspiring commercial centers. In either case, the dynamic force was the commercial element, which realized that prosperity depended upon the community's stability. Thus, municipal government and a local police force were hastily established to insure the success of these twin aims. The local newspapers gave voice to the emerging community by providing the major form of communication between isolated individuals and groups. The press, in fact, was influential in moulding the character of the early community; Baker of the Leader and others were consistently in the vanguard, calling for public support of schools, churches, and especially for effective law enforcement.

Agricultural History, XXXVIII, 24-26; Rowland Berthoff, "The American Social Order: A Conservative Hypothesis," American Historical Review, LXV (April, 1960), 502, 508; Daniel Lerner, "The Transformation of Institutions," The Transfer of Institutions, ed. William B. Hamilton (Durham, N.C., 1964), pp. 3-26.

¹⁴ The recent argument to the contrary by Ray Billington is hardly applicable to frontier urban life. Billington tends to equate the frontier experience solely with rural life. America's Frontier Heritage (New York, 1966), pp. 87, 92.

The major fact of Cheyenne's early life, the presence of a large, impersonal corporation, the Union Pacific, had a somewhat contradictory effect on the development of community consciousness. Although not a company town in the technical sense, the city required the company's cooperation in most early municipal ventures, if they were to be successful.¹⁵ Not surprisingly, residents often relied on the company rather than on their own initiative. On the other hand, the often thoughtless and sometimes outrageous policies of a corporation administered from New York and Boston forced residents to unite in reaction, to make an effort to provide other means to sustain their community.

Several basic trends in the nature of the city's population contributed to the making of a stable community. One was the increasing proportion of women. The character of the community remained masculine by eastern standards, but the increased number of women and, hence, the growth in the number of families was an important factor in civilizing the frontier community. Another trend was the increasing permanence of the population. A major characteristic of the earliest population had been its transiency. Many of those who stayed after the first winter, however, apparently committed themselves to permanent residence in the city.

Another factor in the development of a stable commun-

¹⁵

For a definition of a company town and some of its social implications, see James B. Allen, The Company Town in the American West (Norman, 1966), pp. 4-5, 108-27.

ity was the homogeneity of the city's population. Like several other western cities--Kansas City and Denver, for example--the major proportion of Cheyenne's population was native American.¹⁶ The proportion of foreign-born, almost one-quarter in 1870, had dropped to less than one-seventh by 1880. This small proportion was easily assimilated because many of them came from English-speaking countries. The ethnic diversity of the larger eastern cities which resulted in innumerable social difficulties was not a characteristic of Cheyenne's experience.

In spite of ethnic homogeneity, the developing community was made up of conflicting ingredients. In Earl Pomeroy's words, "different Wests often lived side by side on the same street."¹⁷ Some of the differences were due to the appearance of social distinctions on the basis of wealth and occupation. Many urban Westerners were propelled by a desire for social status. The unformed frontier society had attracted them because it seemed to offer the opportunity for greater upward mobility than was possible in a relatively established society. Other differences were based on contrasting conceptions of morality. Some residents vociferously pressed for strict regulation or even the abolition of gambling houses, brothels, and saloons while others

¹⁶ Glaab and Brown, A History of Urban America, pp. 140-41.

¹⁷ MVHR, XLI, 582.

successfully insisted on toleration. Racial discrimination also played a part. Negroes and Chinese, as in other parts of the country, were automatically relegated to the lowest rung of society.

As in other frontier communities, class divisions were obvious from the beginning and deepened as the community matured.¹⁸ The earliest elite was made up of the professional class and the wealthier merchants who joined with the army officers at Fort Russell and later included some of the territorial officials when they arrived. Social distinctions became more apparent during the boom periods which followed. The elite became more exclusive during the Black Hills gold rush, perhaps in reaction to the large influx of transients. Yet this elite was fairly broadly based, including the well-to-do merchants, the professional men, some stockgrowers, as well as the army officers and territorial officials.

With the coming of the cattle boom of the 1880's, the old elite was overwhelmed by the stockgrowers who now dominated every aspect of life in the city. Regarded as stockgrowers in this context were several affluent businessmen who had invested heavily in the cattle industry. The power of the stockgrowers in the community was far out of

¹⁸This general tendency is well described in Billington, America's Frontier Heritage, pp. 97-116. For a sociological analysis of social stratification in a South Dakota town, Prairieton, see John Useem, Pierre Tanget, and Ruth Useem, "Stratification in a Prairie Town," American Sociological Review, VII (June, 1942), 331-42.

proportion to their actual numbers. Their position was based on their personal wealth, but also on the common belief that the community's economic prosperity hinged on the cattle industry. This local elite formed a somewhat uneasy alliance with the new influx of transients, the wealthy Easterners and Europeans who came to take part in the cattle boom. The Cheyenne Club was the symbol of their exclusiveness and power. Social distinctions within the cattle industry itself were inherent in the pattern of settlement in the region. The stockgrower lived in his mansion on Ferguson Avenue; the cowboys or stockherders lived on the ranches.

Another important factor in the building of an orderly and progressive community was the image presented by the city.¹⁹ Because of the hectic conditions during the first winter, the city developed a national reputation as a wild and wicked place. It took years to live down this image, particularly because visitors generally looked for the colorful and exciting and, therefore, emphasized the rough, frontier quality of the city in their comments. The local press was the chief custodian of the sacred task of upholding the city's good name. The constant claims for the city were designed to impress outsiders and attract immigration and capital. The press also endeavored to bolster the confidence of residents who might be tempted to migrate to seemingly

¹⁹The necessity of fully considering the implications of a city's image is argued by Asa Briggs, "The Study of Cities," Confluence, VII (Summer, 1958), 109-10.

greener pastures. The results were a sense of local pride in the community's accomplishments and, in fact, an attempt to measure up to the image of the city presented by the newspapers.

An essential feature of the boom town's transformation was the rate at which social and economic development took place. Like the Oklahoma cities or most mining camps, Cheyenne was an "instant" city. Almost 10,000 persons congregated at the site within months of its founding.²⁰ There was no twenty- or thirty-year pre-history of slow growth to the city stage before chartered municipal government existed as was the case, for example, with Rochester, Milwaukee, and Kansas City.²¹ A provisional government, set up almost immediately, was replaced by a legally constituted corporation within months. There was no long wait for the professional class to arrive as could be expected in many young communities;²² doctors, lawyers, ministers, and school teachers were among the earliest arrivals.

²⁰ A good description of the sudden rise of Leadville is in David Lavender, "This Wondrous Town; This Instant City," The American West, IV (August, 1967), 4-14, 68-70. For the Oklahoma cities, see: John Alley, City Beginnings in Oklahoma Territory (Norman, 1929), p. 31; Gerald Forbes, Guthrie, Oklahoma's First Capital (Norman, 1930), pp. 7-10.

²¹ Brown, Frontier Community . . ., pp. 10-81. Blake McKelvey, Rochester: The Water Power City (Cambridge, Mass., 1945), pp. 3-71. Bayrd Still, Milwaukee: The History of a City (Madison, 1948), pp. 3-9.

²² Examples are the small, rurally-oriented communities described in Curti, The Making of an American Community . . ., pp. 54-83.

The changes which took place after the city was founded were compressed into a relatively short period of time. The city experienced three distinct booms and the intervening depressions within twenty years. The city's orientation changed radically several times in these few years, from a terminal town obsessed with a railroad, to an entrepôt of a gold rush, to the headquarters of a cattle kingdom.

The psychological results of these rapid changes might be described as a boom town mentality. The collective mood fluctuated wildly from the heights of optimism to the depths of despair in the space of months or even weeks. Thus, predictions that the city would become the major metropolis between Chicago and San Francisco would rapidly alternate with gloomy forecasts that the city was doomed to the future of a mere whistle stop on the Union Pacific.

The romantic dreams of the urban pioneers were, perhaps, unrealistic. The hard fact of an unrewarding environment had limited the city's size and relegated it to a secondary position in relation to Denver. Yet Cheyenne's residents had some basis for their optimism. In spite of numerous obstacles, the accomplishments of two decades had been remarkable. Wyoming, as well as the entire West, had been transformed in these years and cities like Cheyenne played a significant part in this change. The little western community provided the essential conjunction of energy and leadership for its region. By its activity it promoted westward expan-

sion and agricultural development. It played a key role in transporting American civilization to the frontier. It provided the opportunity for social and cultural improvement possible only in the relatively concentrated and dynamic population of an urban center. This urban dimension must be taken seriously in any examination of the history of western America.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The most important location of material for a study of Cheyenne's history is the Western History Research Center at the University of Wyoming, Laramie. These Archives house the immensely valuable Warren Collection and the Wyoming Stock Growers Association Collection as well as numerous other collections. The Wyoming State Archives and Historical Department in Cheyenne has the best collection of Cheyenne newspapers, often the only source available for many aspects of the city's history. The State Archives also has the city government records as well as county records. Source material available in several other locations warrants some mention. Some important manuscripts and rare books in the Western Americana Collection at Yale University, New Haven, proved useful. The Denver Public Library has a particularly good collection of nineteenth century travellers' accounts, many of which pertain to Cheyenne. The H. H. Bancroft interviews, which include some of Cheyenne's influential cattlemen and businessmen, are at the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. The Iowa State Department of History and Archives, Des Moines, houses the Dodge Papers, essential for a study of the city's relationship with the railroad company.

The following abbreviations have been used:

W.H.R.C.	Western History Research Center, University of Wyoming, Laramie.
W.S.A.H.D.	Wyoming State Archives and Historical Department, Cheyenne.
B.L.	Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.
N.A.	National Archives, Washington.

PRIMARY SOURCES

Manuscripts

- Bancroft, Hubert Howe. Interviews. B.L.
 "Biographical Sketch of Morton E. Post." Cheyenne, c. 1885.
 "Dictation of Alexander Hamilton Swan." Cheyenne, c. 1885.
 "Dictation of A. R. Converse." Cheyenne, 1885.
 "Dictation of Charles F. Coffee." Cheyenne, c. 1885.
 "Dictation of Dwight Fisk." Cheyenne, 1885.
 "Dictation of Fred G. Hesse." Cheyenne, 1885.
 "Dictation of H. B. Kelly," Cheyenne, 1885.
 "Dictation of Hubert Engelbricht Teschemacher." Cheyenne, c. 1885.
 "Dictation of Judge J. H. Hayford." Laramie City, 1885.
 "Dictation of Orin C. Waid." Cheyenne, c. 1885.
 "Dictation of Posey S. Wilson." Cheyenne, 1886.
 "Notes from A. H. Reel's Dictation." Cheyenne, 1885.
 "Questionnaire on Alexander Hamilton Swan." Cheyenne, c. 1885.
- Bard, Isaac. Diary. 1870-1876. Western Americana Collection, Yale University, New Haven.
- Boettcher, Charles. "The Flush Times of Colorado." Leadville, 1884. B.L.
- Bresnahan, L. R. Papers. In the possession of his daughter, Miss Winnifred Bresnahan, Cheyenne.
- Brush-Swan Electric Light Company of Cheyenne Material. W.S.A.H.D.
- Carey, J. M. Collection. W.H.R.C.

- Carey, J. M. "Politics and People." Cheyenne, c. 1885. B.L.
Cheyenne Club Collection. W.S.A.H.D.
Minutes of Club Meetings. 1880-1890.
Minutes of Meetings of the Board of Governors. 1880-1890.
- Clerk's Minutes. 2 vols. First Congregational Church Archives, Cheyenne.
- Corlett, W. W. "The Founding of Cheyenne." Cheyenne, 1885. B.L.
- Coutant, C. G. Notes. W.S.A.H.D.
- Davis, N. R. Papers. State Historical Society of Colorado, Denver.
- Dodge, Grenville M. Papers. Iowa State Department of History and Archives, Des Moines.
- Dunder, Clarence J. Collection. W. H.R.C.
- Freund, Frank W. Collection. W.S.A.H.D.
- Hoyt, John Wesley. "Autobiography." W.S.A.H.D. (Typescript.)
- Mayo, Clarence. Collection. Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California.
- "Medical History of Fort Russell." 3 vols. 1867-1894. W.S.A.H.D.
- Minutes of Session. 1869-1884. First Presbyterian Church Archives, Cheyenne.
- Parish Register. 2 vols. St. Mark's Episcopal Church Archives, Cheyenne.
- Post, M. E. Collection. W.H.R.C.
- Slack, E. A. Papers. W.S.A.H.D.
- Slaughter, John. "Life in Colorado and Wyoming." Cheyenne, 1884. B.L.
- Teschemacher, H. E. and deBillier, F. O. Collection. W.H.R.C.
- Thomas, H. K. Diary. 1870-1871. Western Americana Collection, Yale University, New Haven.

Trimble, Richard. Collection. W.H.R.C.
 Waltz, Henry Clay. Diary. 1872. W.H.R.C. (Typescript.)

Warren, Francis E. Collection. W.H.R.C.
 Personal:

A. R. Converse Books, 1867-1871.
 Converse and Warren Letters, 1871-1878.
 Warren Letters, 1878-1887.
 Warren Scrapbook, No. 24, 1873-1889.

Others:

Letters of the Brush-Swan Electric Light Company
 of Cheyenne. 1882-1885.
 Minute Book of the Brush-Swan Electric Light
 Company of Cheyenne.
 Minute Book of the Cheyenne, Black Hills, and
 Montana Railway Company. 1883-1888.
 Minute Book of the Cheyenne Street Railroad
 Company. 1887-1903.

Wister, Owen. Collection. W.H.R.C.

Wyoming Stock Growers Association Collection. W.H.R.C.
 Association Records:

Correspondence of the Secretary of the Associa-
 tion. 1882-1888.

Minute Book of the Executive Committee. 1881-
 1911.

Minute Book of the Laramie County Stock Growers
 Association and of the later Wyoming Stock
 Growers Association. 1873-1883.

Proceedings of the Annual Meetings. 1884-1899.

Cheyenne Club Records:

Letters of Members to April 1, 1892.

Members' Ledgers. A, B, and C.

Government Documents: Unpublished

Federal

U.S. Bureau of the Census. Ninth Census of the United
 States, 1870. Wyoming Schedules. N.A.

U.S. Bureau of the Census. Tenth Census of the United
 States, 1880. Wyoming Schedules. N.A.

- U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs. Wyoming Superintendency, 1869-1871. N.A.
- U.S. Department of the Interior. Letters from the Commissioner of the General Land Office to the Cheyenne Land Office, 1870-1874. W.S.A.H.D.
- U.S. Department of the Interior. Records of the General Land Office, Division F: Railroad, Right of Way and Reclamation. N.A.
- U.S. Department of the Interior. Territorial Papers, Wyoming Series, 1880. N.A.
- U.S. Department of State. Appointments File, Wyoming, 1868-1873. N.A.
- U.S. Department of State. Territorial Papers, Wyoming Series, 1864-1871. N.A.

Territorial

- Wyoming Territory. Governor John A. Campbell's Letter Press Books. Vol. I. W.S.A.H.D.
- Wyoming Territory. Governor Francis E. Warren's Letter Press Books. Vol. I. W.S.A.H.D.

County

- Laramie County. Bills of Sale. 1870-1888. W.S.A.H.D.
- Laramie County. Commissioners. Minutes of Meetings. 1869-1885. W.S.A.H.D.
- Laramie County. Deeds. 1868-1880. W.S.A.H.D.
- Laramie County. District Court. Criminal Appearance Dockets. 1868-1890. W.S.A.H.D.
- Laramie County. Treasurer. Assessment Rolls and Tax Lists. 1868-1886. W.S.A.H.D.

City

- Cheyenne. City Council. Minutes of Meetings. 1867-1890. W.S.A.H.D.

Government Documents: Published

Federal

- Hayden, F. V. Preliminary Report of the United States Geological Survey of Wyoming and Portions of Contiguous Territories. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1872.
- Richardson, James D. (comp.). A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789-1902. 10 vols. Washington: Bureau of National Literature and Art, 1905.
- Union Pacific Railroad Company. Report of the Chief Engineer with Accompanying Reports of Division Engineers for 1866. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1868.
- U.S. Bureau of the Census. Compendium of the Eleventh Census: 1890. Part I--Population. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1892.
- U.S. Congress. House of Representatives. Annual Reports of the Secretary of the Interior. Executive Documents, 1868-1889.
- U.S. Congress. House of Representatives. Annual Reports of the Secretary of War. Executive Documents, 1866-1890.
- U.S. Congress. House of Representatives. Report of the Chief Engineer to the President of the Union Pacific Railroad Company for the Year 1867. Executive Document No. 331. 40th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1868.
- U.S. Congress. House of Representatives. Report of the House Committee on Public Lands and on the Unlawful Occupancy of the Public Lands. Report No. 1325. 48th Cong., 1st Sess., 1884.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. Message of the President of the United States Communicating, In Compliance with a Resolution of the Senate, Information in Relation to an Organized Band of Persons at Cheyenne, in the Territory of Wyoming or Vicinity, the Number and Designs of Such Persons. Executive Document No. 89. 41st Cong., 2nd Sess., 1870.

- U.S. Congress. Senate. Reports of the Government Directors of the Union Pacific Railroad Company, 1864-1886.
Executive Document No. 69. 49th Cong., 1st Sess., 1886.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. Testimony Taken by the United States Pacific Railway Commission. Executive Document No. 51.
50th Cong., 1st Sess., 1887.
- U.S. Congressional Globe. 1870-1873.
- U.S. Congressional Record. 1874-1888.
- U.S. Statutes at Large. Vols. XIII, XVI.
- Walker, Francis A. A Compendium of the Ninth Census, 1870.
Washington: Government Printing Office, 1872.

Territorial

- Dakota Territory. Second Annual Message of Governor A. J. Faulk to the Seventh Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Dakota. Yankton: George W. Kingsbury, 1867.
- Dakota Territory. Session Laws of the Legislative Assemblies.
Sixth, 1866-1867; and Seventh, 1867-1868.
- Wyoming Territory. Message of Governor Campbell to the First Legislative Assembly of Wyoming Territory. Cheyenne: Evening Leader Office, 1869.
- Wyoming Territory. Session Laws of the Legislative Assemblies.
First, 1869, to Ninth, 1888.

Newspapers

- Cheyenne Daily Argus. November 12, 1869.
- Cheyenne Daily Leader. 1867-1890.
- Cheyenne Daily News. 1874-1875.
- Cheyenne Daily Sun. 1876-1890.
- Cheyenne State Leader, 1917.

- Chicago Times. 1867, 1870.
- Chicago Tribune. 1867.
- Daily Advertiser (Cheyenne). February 20, 1878.
- Daily Miners Register (Central City, Colorado). 1867.
- Daily Rocky Mountain Star (Cheyenne). January 22, June 13, 1868.
- Daily Union Vedette (Salt Lake City). 1867.
- Denver News. 1889.
- Denver Republican. 1889.
- District Methodist (Greeley). 1873-1876.
- Frank Leslie's Illustrated (New York). 1876-1877.
- Frontier Index (Fort Sanders to Bear River City). 1868.
- Laramie Daily Sentinel. 1870.
- Laramie Weekly Sentinel. 1875-1883.
- Nebraska City News. August 31, 1867.
- Northwestern Live Stock Journal (Cheyenne). 1885.
- Omaha Daily Bee. 1875.
- Omaha Weekly Herald. 1867-1868.
- Rocky Mountain News (Denver). 1867.
- South Pass News. 1870.
- Sweetwater Mines (Fort Bridger to South Pass City). 1868-1869.
- Weekly Rocky Mountain News (Cheyenne). May 22, 1872.
- Wyoming Daily Morning News (Cheyenne). April 30, 1871.
- Wyoming State Tribune-Cheyenne State Leader. 1929, 1933.
- Wyoming Tribune (Cheyenne). 1869-1871.

Published Diaries, Memoirs, and Contemporary Accounts

- Adams, Andy. The Log of a Cowboy. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, [1903] 1964.
- Barnes, Demas. From the Atlantic to the Pacific. New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1866.
- Beadle, J. H. The Undeveloped West or Five Years in the Territories. Philadelphia: National Publishing Company, 1873.
- Bell, William A. New Tracks in North America. New York: Scribner, Weiford and Company, 1870.
- Bennett, Estelline. Old Deadwood Days. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1935.
- Bird, Isabella. A Lady's Life in the Rocky Mountains. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, [1879] 1960.
- Bowles, Samuel. Our New West. Records of Travel Between the Mississippi River and the Pacific Ocean. Hartford: Hartford Publishing Company, 1870.
- Brisbin, James S. The Beef Bonanza: or, How to Get Rich on the Plains. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, [1881] 1959.
- Bronson, Edgar Beecher. Reminiscences of a Ranchman. New York: The McClure Company, 1908.
- Brush, C. F. "Some Reminiscences of Early Electric Lighting," Journal of the Franklin Institute, CCVI (July, 1928), 3-15.
- [Campbell, Mrs. J. A.] "Wyoming Territory, As Seen by the Wife of Wyoming's First Governor," Wyoming Historical Collections, I (1897), 215-18.
- Cheyenne City Directory, Residence and Business, 1885. Compiled by A. R. Johnson. Cheyenne: Leader Printing, 1885.
- Cheyenne Club. By-Laws, House Rules, Officers and Members, and Articles of Incorporation of the Cheyenne Club. Cheyenne: Sun Steam Print, 1881.
- Clampitt, John W. Echoes from the Rocky Mountains. Chicago: The National Book Concern, 1888.

- Clay, John. My Life on the Range. Chicago: By the author, 1924.
- Cook, D. J. Hands Up; or, Twenty Years of Detective Life in the Mountains and on the Plains. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, [1882] 1958.
- Cook, James H. Fifty Years on the Old Frontier. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, [1923] 1957.
- Craig, Nute. Thrills, 1861-1887. Oakland: By the author, 1911.
- Crane, Harry (ed.). Letters from Old Friends and Members of the Wyoming Stock Growers Association. Cheyenne: S. A. Bristol Company, 1923.
- Dodge, Grenville M. How We Built the Union Pacific Railway and Other Railway Papers and Addresses. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1910.
- Finerty, John F. War-Path and Bivouac, or The Conquest of the Sioux. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, [1890] 1961.
- Flannery, L. G. (ed.). John Hunton's Diary, 1873-1879. 3 vols. Lingle, Wyoming: Guide-Review, 1956-1960.
- Gannett, Lucy Ellen. Lucy's Girlhood Days. Denver: By the author, n.d.
- Gilland, Mrs. George. "Pioneering in the '70's," Annals of Wyoming, V (July, 1927), 19-24.
- Glazier, Willard. Peculiarities of American Cities. Philadelphia: Hubbard Brothers, 1886.
- Guernsey, Charles A. Wyoming Cowboy Days. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1936.
- Homsher, Lola M. (ed.). South Pass, 1868: James Chisholm's Journal of the Wyoming Gold Rush. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1960.
- Hooker, William Francis. The Prairie Schooner. Chicago: Saul Brothers, 1918.
- Kingman, John W. "Autobiography," Annals of Wyoming, XIV (July, 1942), 221-27.

- Kuykendall, W. L. Frontier Days, A True Narrative of Striking Events on the Western Frontier. Cheyenne: J. M. and H. L. Kuykendall, 1917.
- Latham, Hiram. Trans-Missouri Stock Raising, The Pasture Lands of North America: Winter Grazing. Omaha: Daily Herald Printing, 1871.
- Lathrop, George. Memoirs of a Pioneer. Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs and Company, 1927.
- Leslie, Mrs. Frank. California, A Pleasure Trip from Gotham to the Golden Gate. New York: G. W. Carlton and Company, 1877.
- McClure, A. K. Three Thousand Miles Through the Rocky Mountains. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott and Company, 1869.
- McCoy, Joseph G. Historic Sketches of the Cattle Trade of the West and Southwest. Columbus, Ohio: Long's College Book Company, [1874] 1951.
- Methodist Episcopal Church. Minutes of the Proceedings of the Sessions of the Annual Colorado Conferences. 15 vols. Denver: Various publishers, 1870-1889.
- Mercer, Asa S. The Banditti of the Plains, or The Cattlemen's Invasion of Wyoming in 1892. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, [1894] 1954.
- Messiter, Charles Alston. Sport and Adventure Among the North-American Indians. London: R. H. Porter, 1890.
- Morris, Robert (comp.). Cheyenne Illustrated; Report of the Cheyenne Board of Trade, March, 1888. Cheyenne: Daily Sun Printing, 1888.
- Nye, Bill. His Own Life Story. Continuity by Frank Wilson Nye. New York: The Century Company, 1926.
- Parshall, Annie K. "In Retrospect," Quarterly Bulletin of the Wyoming State Historical Society, I (April, 1924), 14-16.
- Pender, Rose. A Lady's Experience in the Wild West in 1883. London: George Tucker, 1888.
- Rae, W. F. Westward by Rail: The New Route to the East. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1871.

- Richardson, Albert D. Beyond the Mississippi: From the Great River to the Great Ocean. . . . Hartford: American Publishing Company, 1867.
- Richardson, Albert D. Garnered Sheaves. Hartford: Columbian Book Company, 1871.
- Saltiel, Emanuel H. and Barnett, George (comps.). History and Business Directory of Cheyenne and Guide to the Mining Regions of the Rocky Mountains. Cheyenne: L. B. Joseph, 1868.
- Seymour, Silas. Incidents of a Trip Through the Great Platte Valley to the Rocky Mountains and Laramie Plains in the Fall of 1866. New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1867.
- Seymour, Silas. A Reminiscence of the Union Pacific Railroad, Containing Some Accounts of the Discovery of the Eastern Base of the Rocky Mountains; and of the Great Indian Battle of July 11, 1867. Quebec: A. Cote and Company, 1873.
- Silversmith, Julius. The New Northwest. Cheyenne: L. B. Joseph, 1869.
- Simonin, Louis Laurent. "A French View of Cheyenne in 1867," The Frontier, X (March, 1930), 240-42.
- Strahorn, Carrie Adell. Fifteen Thousand Miles by Stage. London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1911.
- Strahorn, Robert E. The Hand-Book of Wyoming and Guide to the Black Hills and Big Horn Regions, for Citizen, Emigrant and Tourist. Cheyenne (Chicago: Knight and Leonard), 1877.
- Stuart, Granville. Forty Years on the Frontier as Seen in his Journals and Reminiscences. Edited by Paul C. Phillips. Glendale, California: Arthur H. Clark Company, [1925] 1957.
- Summerhayes, Martha. Vanished Arizona, Recollections of My Army Life. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1908.
- Tallent, Annie D. The Black Hills; or, The Last Hunting Ground of the Dakotahs. St. Louis: Nixon-Jones Printing Company, 1899.

- Thomas, N. S. (ed.). Diary and Letters of the Reverend Joseph W. Cook, Missionary to Cheyenne. Laramie: The Laramie Republican Company, 1919.
- Triggs, J. H. History of Cheyenne and Northern Wyoming, Embracing the Gold Fields of the Black Hills, Powder River and Big Horn Countries. Omaha: Herald Steam Book and Job Printing House, 1876.
- Tuttle, E. B. Six Months on the Plains; or, The Travellers Guide to Cheyenne and the Rocky Mountains. Chicago: Horton and Leonard, 1868.
- [Union Pacific Railroad Company]. Progress of Their Road West From Omaha, Nebraska, Across the Continent, Five Hundred and Forty Miles Completed December, 1867. New York: Union Pacific Railroad Company, 1868.
- Verazquez, Loreta J. The Woman in Battle. Hartford: T. Belknap, 1876.
- Von Richthofen, Baron Walter. Cattle-Raising on the Plains of North America. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1885.
- Voorhees, Luke. Personal Recollections of Pioneer Life. Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs Company, 1927.
- White, John. Sketches from America. London: Sampson Low, Son, and Marston, 1870.
- Wyoming Stock Growers Association. Cattle Brands Owned by Members of the Wyoming Stock Growers Association. Chicago: J. M. W. Jones, 1882.
- Wyoming Stock Growers Association. List of Members, By-Laws, and Reports of the Wyoming Stock Growers Association, and the Laws of Wyoming for the Protection of Stock-growers, as Amended by the Ninth Assembly. Cheyenne: Sun Steam Print, 1886.
- Zincke, F. Barnham. Last Winter in the United States. London: John Murray, 1868.

SECONDARY SOURCES

Unpublished Theses and Dissertations

- Bale, George Justin. "A History of the Development of Territorial Public Education in the State of Wyoming." Unpublished Master's thesis, University of Wyoming, 1938.
- Bell, William Campton. "A History of the Theatrical Activities of Cheyenne, Wyoming." Unpublished Master's thesis, Northwestern University, 1935.
- Carnes, Frederick T. "The Wyoming Development Company." Unpublished Master's thesis, University of Colorado, 1953.
- Cook, Malcom Libni. "The Methodist Episcopal Church in Wyoming, 1867-1888." Unpublished Master's thesis, Denver University, 1955.
- Cramer, Edison Henry. "Denver as the Financial Center of the Eastern Rocky Mountain Region." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1940.
- Dykstra, Robert R. "The Cattle Town Experience: Social Process and the Cattle-Trading Centers, 1867-1885." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, State University of Iowa, 1964.
- Fromong, Terrence D. "The Development of Public Elementary and Secondary Education in Wyoming: 1869-1917." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wyoming, 1962.
- Gurian, Jay Paul. "Two Western Mining Communities: A Study of their Actual Development and their Mythology." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1962.
- Haley, John Paul. "A History of Laramie County School District No. 1." Unpublished Master's thesis, University of South Dakota, 1956.
- Hewlett, Horace W. "Territorial Wyoming and the Cattle Industry." Unpublished Master's thesis, Yale University, 1941.

- Leonard, Stephen John. "The Denver Chamber of Commerce and Board of Trade from 1884 to 1900." Unpublished Master's thesis, University of Wyoming, 1966.
- Muller, Dorothea Rosalie. "Josiah Strong and the Challenge of the City." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1956.
- Robinson, Willard B. "Northwest Architecture, 1834-1893." Unpublished Master's thesis, Rice Institute, 1961.
- Spiegel, Sydney B. "History of Laramie County, to 1890." Unpublished Master's thesis, University of Wyoming, 1961.
- Traxler, Ralph N. "Some Phases of the History of the Colorado Central Railroad, 1867-1885." Unpublished Master's thesis, University of Colorado, 1947.

Articles

- Anderson, A. H. "Space as a Social Cost, An Approach Toward Community Design in the Sparsely Populated Areas of the Great Plains," Journal of Farm Economics, XXXII (August, 1950), 411-30.
- Bell, William Campton. "The Early Theatres, Cheyenne Wyoming, 1867-1882," Annals of Wyoming, XXV (January, 1953), 3-21.
- Berkhofer, Robert F. "Space, Time, Culture and the New Frontier," Agricultural History, XXXVIII (January, 1964), 21-30.
- Berthoff, Rowland. "The American Social Order: A Conservative Hypothesis," American Historical Review, LXV (April, 1960), 495-514.
- Briggs, Asa. "The Study of Cities," Confluence, VII (Summer, 1958), 107-14.
- Briggs, Harold E. "The Black Hills Gold Rush," North Dakota Historical Quarterly, V (1930-1931), 71-99.
- Briggs, Harold E. "Early Freight and Stage Lines in Dakota," North Dakota Historical Quarterly, III (1928-1929), 229-61.

- Briggs, Harold E. "Early Variety Theatres in the Trans-Mississippi West," Mid-America, XXXIV (Spring, 1952), 188-202.
- Briggs, Harold E. and Briggs, Ernestine. "The Early Theater on the Northern Plains," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XXXVII (September, 1950), 231-264.
- Careless, J. M. S. "Frontierism, Metropolitanism, and Canadian History," Canadian Historical Review. XXV (March, 1954), 1-21.
- Chaplin, W. E. "The Development of the Union Pacific Railroad in Wyoming," Wyoming Historical Collections (1920), pp. 129-34.
- Chaplin, W. E. "Some of the Early Newspapers in Wyoming," Wyoming Historical Society Miscellanies (1919), 7-24.
- Chaplin, W. E. "Some Wyoming Editors I Have Known," Annals of Wyoming, XVIII (January, 1946), 79-88.
- [Coutant, C. G.] "History of Wyoming Written by C. G. Coutant, Pioneer Historian and Heretofore Unpublished," Annals of Wyoming, XII (January, 1940), 35-46; XII (April, 1940), 144-52; XII (July, 1940), 240-44; XII (October, 1940), 323-28; XIII (January, 1941) 74-80; XIII (April, 1941), 141-55; XIII (July, 1941), 217-30; XIII (October, 1941), 355-65; XIV (January, 1942), 65-82; XIV (April, 1942), 141-58.
- Diamond, William. "On the Dangers of an Urban Interpretation of History," in Historiography and Urbanization, Essays in American History in Honor of W. Stull Holt. Edited by Eric F. Goldman. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1941.
- Dick, Everett N. "Problems of the Post Frontier Prairie City as Portrayed by Lincoln, Nebraska, 1880-1890," Nebraska History, XXVII (1947), 132-43.
- Dykstra, Robert. "The Last Days of 'Texan' Abilene: A Study in Community Conflict on the Farmer's Frontier," Agricultural History, XXIV (July, 1960), 107-19.
- Dykstra, Robert. "Ellsworth, 1869-1875: The Rise and Fall of a Kansas Cowtown," Kansas Historical Review, XXVII (Summer, 1961), 161-92.

- Elkins, Stanley, and McKittrick, Eric. "A Meaning for Turner's Frontier, Part I: Democracy in the Old Northwest," Political Science Quarterly, LXIX (September, 1954), 323-39.
- Eriksson, E. M. "Sioux City and the Black Hills Gold Rush, 1874-1877," Iowa Journal of History and Politics, XX (July, 1922), 319-347.
- Farnham, Wallace D. "Grenville Dodge and the Union Pacific: A Study of Historical Legends," Journal of American History, LI (March, 1965), 632-50.
- Farnham, Wallace D. "The Pacific Railroad Act of 1862," Nebraska History, XLIII (September, 1962), 141-67.
- Farnham, Wallace D. "'The Weakened Spring of Government': A Study in Nineteenth-Century American History," American Historical Review, LXVIII (April, 1963), 662-80.
- Fuller, E. O. "Cheyenne Looking North," Annals of Wyoming, XXIII (January, 1951), 3-51.
- Glaab, Charles N. "The Historian and the American City: A Bibliographic Survey," in The Study of Urbanization. Edited by Philip M. Hauser and Leo F. Schnore. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1966.
- Graebner, Norman. "Nebraska's Missouri River Frontier, 1854-1860," Nebraska History, XLII (December, 1961), 213-235.
- Gras, Norman S. B. "The Significance of the Twin Cities for Minnesota History," Minnesota History, VII (1926), 3-17.
- Green, Constance M. "The Value of Local History," in The Cultural Approach to History. Edited by Caroline F. Ware. New York: Columbia University Press, 1940.
- Gressley, Gene M. "The American Cattle Trust: A Study in Protest," Pacific Historical Review, XXX (February, 1961), 61-77.
- Gressley, Gene M. "Harvard Man Out West: The Letters of Richard Trimble, 1882-1887," Montana, the Magazine of Western History, X (January, 1960), 14-23.

- Gressley, Gene M. "Teschemacher and deBillier Cattle Company: A study of Eastern Capital on the Frontier," Business History Review, XXXII, No. 2 (1959), 121-37.
- Gressley, Gene M. "The Turner Thesis--A Problem in Historiography," Agricultural History, XXXII (October, 1958), 227-49.
- Handlin, Oscar. "The Modern City as a Field of Historical Study," in The Historian and the City. Edited by Oscar Handlin and John Burchard. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1963.
- Harper, Norman. "The Rural and Urban Frontiers," Historical Studies, Australia and New Zealand, XL (May, 1963), 401-21.
- Hays, Samuel P. "Quantification in History: The Implications and Challenges for Graduate Training," AHA Newsletter, IV (June, 1966), 8-11.
- Hebard, Grace Raymond. "How Woman Suffrage Came to Wyoming," Wyoming Historical Collections (1920), pp. 135-46.
- Holt, W. Stull. "Some Consequences of the Urban Movement," Pacific Historical Review, XXII (November, 1953), 337-52.
- Homsher, Lola M. "History of Albany County, Wyoming, to 1880," Annals of Wyoming, XXI (July-October, 1949), 181-213.
- Jackson, W. Turrentine. "Railroad Relations of the Wyoming Stock Growers Association: 1873-1890," Annals of Wyoming, XIX (January, 1947), 3-23.
- Jackson, W. Turrentine. "The Wyoming Stock Growers Association: Its Years of Temporary Decline, 1886-1890," Agricultural History, XXII (October, 1948), 260-70.
- Jackson, W. Turrentine. "The Wyoming Stock Growers Association: Political Power in Wyoming Territory, 1873-1890," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XXXIII (March, 1947), 571-94.
- "James Richard Whitehead," The Trail, X (May, 1918), 28.
- Johnson, J. A. "History of the First Methodist Church of Cheyenne," Wyoming Historical Collections, I (1897), 303-307.

- Jones, J. Lee, and Richardson, Rupert N. "Colorado City, The Cattlemen's Capital," West Texas Historical Association Year Book, XIX (October, 1943), 36-63.
- Keen, Elizabeth, "Wyoming's Frontier Newspapers," Annals of Wyoming, XXXIII (October, 1961), 135-58; XXXIV (April, 1962), 61-84; XXXIV (October, 1962), 218-33; XXXV (April, 1963), 88-101.
- Kendall, Jane R. "History of Fort Francis E. Warren," Annals of Wyoming, XVIII (January, 1946), 3-66.
- Lampard, Eric E. "American Historians and the Study of Urbanization," American Historical Review, LXVII (October, 1961), 49-61.
- Lampard, Eric E. "Urbanization and Social Change: On Broadening the Scope and Relevance of Urban History," in The Historian and the City. Edited by Oscar Handlin and John Burchard. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1963.
- Larson, T. A. "Petticoats at the Polls: Woman Suffrage in Territorial Wyoming," Pacific Northwest Quarterly, XLIV (April, 1953), 74-79.
- Larson, T. A. "The Winter of 1886-1887 in Wyoming," Annals of Wyoming, XIV (January, 1942), 5-17.
- Lavender, David. "This Wondrous Town; This Instant City," The American West, IV (August, 1967), 4-14, 68-70.
- Mahnken, Norbert R. "Ogallala--Nebraska's Cowboy Capital," Nebraska History, XXVIII, No. 2 (1947), 85-109.
- Mahnken, Norbert R. "The Sidney-Black Hills Trail," Nebraska History, XXX (September, 1949), 203-225.
- Malin, James C. "Local Historical Studies and Population Problems," in The Cultural Approach to History. Edited by Caroline F. Ware. New York: Columbia University Press, 1940.
- McDermott, John D. "Fort Laramie's Iron Bridge," Annals of Wyoming, XXXIV (October, 1962), 137-44.
- McKelvey, Blake. "American Urban History Today," American Historical Review, LVIII (July, 1952), 919-29.

- McMurtrie, Douglas C. "Pioneer Printing in Wyoming," Annals of Wyoming, IX (January, 1933), 729-42.
- Mock, S. D. "Colorado and the Surveys for a Pacific Railroad," Colorado Magazine, XVII (March, 1940), 54-63.
- Morton, W. L. "The Significance of Site in the Settlement of the American and Canadian Wests," Agricultural History, XXV (April, 1951), 97-104.
- Paine, Clarence S. "Wild Bill Hickok and Calamity Jane," in The Black Hills. Edited by Roderick Peattie. New York: Vanguard Press, 1952.
- Palais, Hyman. "Some Aspects of the Black Hills Gold Rush Compared with the California Gold Rush," Pacific Historical Review, XV (1946), 59-67.
- Perrigo, Lynn I. "Law and Order in Early Colorado Mining Camps," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XXVIII (June, 1941), 41-62.
- Perrigo, Lynn I. "The First Decade of Public Schools at Central City," Colorado Magazine, XII (May, 1935), 81-91.
- Pomeroy, Earl. "Toward a Reorientation of Western History: Continuity and Environment," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XLI (March, 1955), 579-600.
- Popplewell, Frank S. "St. Joseph, Missouri, As a Center of the Cattle Trade," Missouri Historical Review, XXXII (July, 1938), 443-57.
- Roberts, Robert R. "Gilt, Gingerbread, and Realism: The Public and Its Taste," in The Gilded Age: A Reappraisal. Edited by H. Wayne Morgan. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, [1963] 1964.
- Scheiber, Harry N. "Urban Rivalry and Internal Improvements in the Old Northwest, 1820-1860," Ohio History, LXXI (October, 1962), 227-39.
- Schlesinger, Arthur M. Sr. "The City in American Civilization," Paths to the Present. New York: Macmillan, 1949.
- Schroeder, Henry. "History of Electric Light," Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections. No. 2717. Washington: The Smithsonian Institute, 1923.

- Smith, Henry Nash. "Rain Follows the Plow: The Notion of Increased Rainfall for the Great Plains, 1844-1880," Huntington Library Quarterly, X (1947), 169-93.
- Spring, Agnes Wright. "The Cheyenne Club, Mecca of the Aristocrats of the Old-Time Cattle Range," Hereford Journal, XXXVIII (July, 1961), 196-248.
- Still, Bayrd. "Patterns of Mid-Nineteenth Century Urbanization in the Middle West," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XXVIII (September, 1941), 187-206.
- Telling, Irving. "Coolidge and Thoreau: Forgotten Frontier Towns," New Mexico Historical Review, XXIX (July, 1954), 210-23.
- Thornthwaite, C. Warren. "The Great Plains," in Migration and Economic Opportunity, The Report of the Study of Population Redistribution. Edited by Carter Goodrich, et al. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1936.
- Thornthwaite, C. Warren. "Climate and Settlement in the Great Plains," in Yearbook of the Department of Agriculture. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1941.
- Tisdale, Hope. "The Process of Urbanization," Social Forces, XX (March, 1942), 311-16.
- Useem, John; Tangent, Pierre; Useem, Ruth. "Stratification in a Prairie Town," American Sociological Review, VII (June, 1942), 331-42.
- Welty, Raymond L. "The Policing of the Frontier by the Army, 1860-1870," Kansas Historical Quarterly, VII (1938), 240-53.
- Wohl, R. Richard. "Urbanism, Urbanity, and the Historian," University of Kansas City Review, XXII (Autumn, 1955), 53-61.
- Winther, Oscar O. "The Rise of Metropolitan Los Angeles: 1870-1910," Huntington Library Quarterly, X (August, 1947), 391-405.
- Wirth, Louis. "Urbanism as a Way of Life," American Journal of Sociology, XLIV (July, 1938), 1-24.

- Wyman, Walker D. "Atchison, A Great Frontier Depot," Kansas Historical Quarterly, XI (1942), 297-308.
- Wyman, Walker D. "Council Bluffs and the Westward Movement," Iowa Journal of History and Politics, XLVII (1949), 99-118.

Books

- Adams, Ramon F. Burs Under the Saddle: A Second Look at Books and Histories of the West. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964.
- Allen, James B. The Company Town in the American West. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966.
- Alley, John. City Beginnings in Oklahoma Territory. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1939.
- Andrews, Wayne. Architecture, Ambition and Americans, A Social History of American Architecture. Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, [1955] 1964.
- Anthony, Susan B., et al. The History of Woman Suffrage. Vols. III and IV. Rochester: By the author, 1886, 1902.
- Arrington, Leonard J. Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830-1900. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1958.
- Athearn, Robert G. High Country Empire: The High Plains and Rockies. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, [1960] 1964.
- Athearn, Robert G. Westward the Briton. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, [1953] 1963.
- Athearn, Robert G. William Tecumseh Sherman and the Settlement of the West. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1956.
- Atherton, Lewis E. The Cattle Kings. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1961.

- Atherton, Lewis E. Main Street on the Middle Border. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1954.
- Bailey, William Francis. The Story of the First Transcontinental Railroad. . . . Fair Oaks, California: By the author, 1906.
- Bancroft, Hubert Howe. History of Nevada, Colorado and Wyoming, Vol. XXV of Bancroft's Works. San Francisco: The History Company, 1890.
- Bancroft, Hubert Howe. Popular Tribunals, 2 vols. San Francisco: The History Company, 1887.
- Beard, Frances B. Wyoming From Territorial Days to the Present. Chicago: The American Historical Association, 1933.
- Benson, Lee. Merchants, Farmers, and Railroads: Railroad Regulation and New York Politics, 1850-1887. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1955.
- Billington, Ray. America's Frontier Heritage. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966.
- Blake, Nelson Manfred. Water for the Cities: A History of the Urban Water Supply Problem in the United States. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1956.
- Bridenbaugh, Carl. Cities in the Wilderness, The First Century of Urban Life in America, 1625-1742. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1960.
- Briggs, Harold E. Frontiers of the Northwest, A History of the Upper Missouri Valley. New York: Appleton-Century Company, 1940.
- Brown, A. Theodore. Frontier Community: Kansas City to 1870. Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri Press, 1963.
- Brown, Mark H., and Felton, W. R. The Frontier Years, L.A. Huffman, Photographer of the Plains. New York: Bramhall House, 1955.

- Carson, William B. The Theater on the Frontier; The Early Years of the St. Louis Stage. New York: Benjamin Blom. [1932] 1965.
- Casper, Henry W. The Church on the Northern Plains, 1838-1874. Vol. I of History of the Catholic Church in Nebraska. Milwaukee: Bruce Press, 1960.
- Caughey, John W. Gold is the Cornerstone. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1948.
- Caughey, John W. Their Majesties the Mob. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960.
- Coutant, C. G. History of Wyoming. Laramie: Chaplin, Spafford and Mathison, 1899.
- [Coutant, C. G.] Progressive Men of the State of Wyoming. Chicago: A. W. Bowen, 1903.
- Curti, Merle and Associates. The Making of an American Community, A Case Study of Democracy in a Frontier County. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1959.
- David, Robert B. Malcolm Campbell, Sheriff. Casper: Wyomingana Inc., 1932.
- Davis, J. Merle. Davis, Soldier Missionary. Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1916.
- Digby, Margaret. Horace Plunkett, An Anglo-American Irishman. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1949.
- Dulles, Foster Rhea. America Learns to Play, A History of Popular Recreation, 1607-1940. New York: Appleton-Century Company, 1940.
- Duncan, Otis Dudley, et al. Metropolis and Region. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1960.
- Erwin, Marie H. Wyoming Historical Blue Book, A Legal and Political History of Wyoming, 1868-1943. Denver: Bradford-Robinson Printing Company, 1946.
- Forbes, Gerald. Guthrie, Oklahoma's First Capital. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1930.

- Frink, Maurice, Cow Country Calvalcade; Eighty Years of the Wyoming Stock Growers Association. Denver: Old West Publishing Company, 1954.
- Frink, Maurice, Jackson, W. Turrentine, and Spring, Agnes Wright. When Grass Was King. Boulder: University of Colorado Press, 1956.
- Fulton, Robert Lardin. Epic of the Overland. San Francisco: A. M. Robertson, 1924.
- Galloway, John Debo. The First Transcontinental Railroad, Central Pacific; Union Pacific. New York: Simmons-Boardman, 1950.
- Gard, Wayne. Frontier Justice. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1949.
- Gates, Paul W. The Illinois Central Railroad and Its Colonization Work. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1934.
- Glaab, Charles N. Kansas City and the Railroads: Community Policy in the Growth of a Regional Metropolis. Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1962.
- Glaab, Charles N., and Brown, A. Theodore. A History of Urban America. New York: Macmillan, 1967.
- Goetzmann, William. Exploration and Empire. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1966.
- Goodykoontz, Colin Brummitt. Home Missions on the American Frontier, with Particular Reference to the American Home Missionary Society. Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers, Limited, 1939.
- Gras, N. S. B. An Introduction to Economic History. New York: Macmillan, 1922.
- Green, Constance. American Cities in the Growth of the Nation. New York: Harper and Row, [1957] 1965.
- Gressley, Gene M. Bankers and Cattlemen. New York; Alfred A. Knopf, 1966.
- Grodinsky, Julius. Jay Gould, His Business Career, 1887-1896. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1957.

- Hafen, LeRoy R., and Young, Francis Marion. Fort Laramie and the Pageant of the West, 1834-1890. Glendale, California: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1938.
- Hall, Frank. History of the State of Colorado. Vol. I. Chicago: Blakely Printing Company, 1889.
- Hamilton, William B. (ed.) The Transfer of Institutions. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1964.
- Hanson, Charles E. Jr. The Plains Rifle. Harrisburg: The Stackpole Company, 1954.
- Harper, Ida Husted. The Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony. 3 vols. Indianapolis: The Bowen-Merrill Company, 1899-1908.
- Hartz, Louis. The Founding of New Societies, Studies in the History of the United States, Latin America, South Africa, Canada and Australia. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1964.
- Hopkins, Charles Howard. The Rise of the Social Gospel in American Protestantism, 1865-1915. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940.
- Hughes, Glenn. A History of the American Theatre, 1700-1950. New York: Samuel French, 1951.
- Hyde, George E. Red Cloud's Folk, A History of the Oglala Sioux Indians. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1937.
- Jackson, W. Turrentine. Treasure Hill, Portrait of a Silver Mining Camp. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1963.
- Jones, William H. The History of Catholic Education in the State of Colorado. Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 1955.
- King, Clyde L. The History of the Government of Denver with Special Reference to its Relations with Public Service Corporations. Denver: The Fisher Book Company, 1911.
- Kingsbury, George W. History of Dakota Territory, Vol. I. Chicago: The S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1915.

- Kraenzel, Carl Frederick. The Great Plains in Transition. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1955.
- Krakel, Dean. South Platte Country. A History of Old Weld County. Laramie: Powder River Publishers, 1954.
- Lamar, Howard Roberts. Dakota Territory, 1861-1889: A Study of Frontier Politics. New Haven: Yale University Press, [1956] 1966.
- Langford, Nathaniel P. Vigilante Days and Ways. 2 vols. Boston, J. G. Cupples Company, 1890.
- Laramie County Historical Society. Early Cheyenne Homes, 1880-1890. Cheyenne: Pioneer Printing Company, 1962.
- Larson, T. A. History of Wyoming. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1965.
- Malin, James C. The Grassland of North America, Prolegomena to its History. Lawrence, Kansas: By the author, 1948.
- Mattes, Merrill J. Indians, Infants, and Infantry: Andrew and Elizabeth Burt on the Frontier. Denver: The Old West Publishing Company, 1960.
- McCarty, John L. Maverick Town, The Story of Old Tascosa. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1946.
- McGovern, Patrick A. History of the Diocese of Cheyenne. Cheyenne: Wyoming Labor Journal, 1941.
- McKelvey, Blake. The Urbanization of America, 1860-1915. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1963.
- McKelvey, Blake. Rochester: The Water Power City. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1945.
- Moore, Arthur K. The Frontier Mind, A Cultural Analysis of the Kentucky Frontiersman. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1957.
- Mumey, Nolie. Nathan Addison Baker. Denver: The Old West Publishing Company, 1965.
- Mumford, Lewis. The City in History, Its Origins, Its Transformations, and Its Prospects. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1961.

- Munroe, William Bennett. The Government of American Cities. New York: Macmillan, 1926.
- Olson, James C. Red Cloud and the Sioux Problem. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1965.
- Osgood, Ernest Staples. The Day of the Cattleman. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, [1929] 1957.
- Parker, Watson. Gold in the Black Hills. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966.
- Passer, Harold C. The Electrical Manufacturers, 1875-1900. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1953.
- Paul, Rodman Wilson. Mining Frontiers of the Far West, 1848-1880. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963.
- Pelzer, Louis. The Cattlemen's Frontier. Glendale, California: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1936.
- Perkins, J. R. Trails, Rails and War, The Life of General G. M. Dodge. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1929.
- Pierce, Bessie L. The Rise of a Modern City, 1871-1893. Vol. III of A History of Chicago. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1957.
- Pirenne, Henri. Medieval Cities. Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, [1925] 1956.
- Pomeroy, Earl. In Search of the Golden West; The Tourist in Western America. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1957.
- Pomeroy, Earl. The Pacific Slope, A History of California, Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Utah, and Nevada. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1966.
- Pomeroy, Earl. The Territories and the United States, 1861-1890. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1947.
- Quiett, Glenn Chesney. They Built the West: An Epic of Rails and Cities. New York: Appleton-Century Company, 1934.

- Riegel, Robert. The Story of the Western Railroads. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, [1926] 1963.
- Rollinson, John K. Wyoming Cattle Trails: History of the Migration of Oregon-Raised Herds to Mid-Western Markets. Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers, 1948.
- Sabin, Edwin L. Building the Pacific Railway. Philadelphia and London: Lippincott, 1919.
- Sandoz, Mari. The Cattlemen, From the Rio Grande Across the Far Marias. New York: Hastings House, 1958.
- Savage, James W., and Bell, John T. History of the City of Omaha, Nebraska, and South Omaha (by Consul W. Butterfield). New York: Munsell and Company, 1894.
- Schlesinger, Arthur M. Sr. The Rise of the City. New York: Macmillan, 1933.
- Schoberlin, Melvin. From Candles to Footlights, A Biography of the Pike's Peak Theatre, 1859-1876. Denver: The Old West Publishing Company, 1941.
- Shannon, James P. Catholic Colonization on the Western Frontier. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957.
- Sharp, Paul. Whoop-Up Country, The Canadian-American West, 1865-1885. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1955.
- Sinclair, Andrew. The Emancipation of the American Woman. New York: Harper and Row, [1965] 1966.
- Smith, Duane A. Rocky Mountain Mining Camps, The Urban Frontier. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1967.
- Smith, Henry Nash. Virgin Land, The American West as Symbol and Myth. New York: Vintage Books, [1950] 1957.
- Sollid, Roberta B. Calamity Jane, A Study in Historical Criticism. Helena: The Western Press of the Historical Society of Montana, 1958.
- Spring, Agnes Wright. The Cheyenne and Black Hills Stage and Express Routes. Glendale, California: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1948.

- Spring, Agnes Wright. Seventy Years Cow Country. Cheyenne: Wyoming Stock Growers Association, 1942.
- Stewart, Robert Laird. Sheldon Jackson. New York: Flemming H. Revell Company, 1908.
- Still, Bayrd. Milwaukee: The History of a City. Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1948.
- Stone, Wilbur Fisk (ed.). History of Colorado. Vol. I. Chicago: S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1918.
- Streeter, Floyd Benjamin. Prairie Trails and Cow Towns. Boston: Chapman and Grimes, 1936.
- Strong, Josiah. The Twentieth Century City. New York: Baker and Taylor Company, 1898.
- Sweet, William Warren. The Story of Religion in America. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950.
- Thernstrom, Stephan. Poverty and Progress, Social Mobility in a Nineteenth Century City. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1964.
- Turner, Frederick Jackson. The Frontier in American History. New York: H. Holt and Company, 1920.
- Vestal, Stanley. Queen of the Cownowns: Dodge City. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1952.
- Vickers, W. B. History of the City of Denver, Arapahoe County, and Colorado. Chicago: O. L. Baskin and Company, 1880.
- Wade, Richard. The Urban Frontier, Pioneer Life in Early Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Lexington, Louisville, and St. Louis. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, [1959] 1964.
- Walker, Henry Pickering. The Wagon Masters: High Plains Freighting from the Earliest Days of the Sante Fe Trail to 1880. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966.
- Webb, Walter Prescott. The Great Plains: A Study in Institutions and Environment. Boston: Ginn and Company, 1931.

- Weber, Adna Ferrin. The Growth of Cities in the Nineteenth Century. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, [1899] 1963.
- Weber, Max. The City. Translated and edited by Don Martindale and Gertrude Neuwirth. New York: Collier Books, [1958] 1962.
- Wecter, Dixon. The Saga of American Society, A Record of Social Aspirations, 1607-1937. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1937.
- Weinberg, Albert K. Manifest Destiny, A Study of Nationalist Expansionism in American History. Chicago: Quadrangle Paperbacks, [1935] 1963.
- West, Ray B. Jr. (ed.) Rocky Mountain Cities. New York: W. W. Norton, 1949.
- White, Henry Kirke. History of the Union Pacific Railway. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1895.
- Wilkins, Thurman. Clarence King. New York: Macmillan, 1958.
- Winther, Oscar O. The Transportation Frontier: Trans-Mississippi West, 1865-1890. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1964.
- Wright, Louis B. Culture on the Moving Frontier. New York: Harper and Row, [1955] 1961.
- Wright, Robert M. Dodge City, The Cowboy Capital and the Great Southwest. Wichita, Kansas: Wichita Eagle Press, 1913.

Pamphlets

- Arrington, Leonard. The Changing Economic Structure of the Mountain-West, 1850-1950. Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press, 1963.

- Bennett, Charles A. Historical Sketch of St. Mark's Church.
Cheyenne: By the author, 1951.
- Billington, Ray A. The American Frontier. 2d ed. revised.
Washington: American Historical Association, 1965.
- Carley, Maurine. A History of the First Congregational
Church of Cheyenne, 1869-1957. Cheyenne: By the
author, 1957.
- Morris, Robert (ed.). The Carnegie Public Library. Cheyenne:
Daily Leader Press, 1902.
- Morton, Mrs. Katherine. Seventy-Five Years of History, 1869-
1944. Cheyenne: First Presbyterian Church, 1944.
- St. Paul's Lutheran Church. 70 Years. Cheyenne: By the
author, n.d.
- Stock Growers National Bank. The Story of a Successful Bank.
Cheyenne: S. A. Bristol, 1906.

B29889